

Questions for the Record
Senator Richard G. Lugar
Nomination of Hillary Rodham Clinton
Department of State
Secretary of State

Foreign Affairs Management Issues

1. President-Elect Obama has nominated two Deputy Secretaries of State. What roles do you envision each playing in the work of the Department?

The opportunities and challenges in front of all of us are both promising and daunting. The objectives that the President-Elect has set forth are compelling, demanding and necessary to meet our interests. To meet these goals, I am seeking to recruit strong, experienced professionals to join the Department. I am using every position available to maximize the possibility for success and to manage an unprecedented number of responsibilities for our nation's security and prosperity.

I intend to use both Deputy positions that are available in law - to manage the overall foreign policy agenda and to manage the operations and resources needed for success. Jim Steinberg, if confirmed, will be responsible for assisting me in the formulation and conduct of our foreign policy; Jack Lew, if confirmed, will be responsible for assisting me in the management of the operations and resources of the Department.

I also will recommend to the President-Elect undersecretaries and assistant secretaries who are at the top of their fields, who think strategically and are strong diplomats and managers of talent. And, I will employ a time-honored tradition to make use of special envoys who will work in a focused fashion to address some of our most difficult challenges.

2. During the Presidential campaign you offered the following critique of the Bush Administration's foreign policy management:

One of my criticisms of the Bush administration is that they have such a narrow circle of people advising the President. Apparently there is only

one diplomat the President will send anywhere and that is Secretary Rice. So if Secretary Rice can't get to the Middle East or get to Pakistan or get to Africa or get anywhere, you don't get the feeling that the President is engaged. I think that is a terrible failure. The president needs to have a broad circle of advisers calling upon distinguished Americans both in and out of government to serve as presidential envoys, something that I urged when I came back from Pakistan and Afghanistan last January.

- a. Does the Obama Administration intend to use Presidential or other special envoys to address particular foreign policy issues in the manner described above?

I agree that special envoys can play a useful role in addressing foreign policy issues that require intense attention. If confirmed, I will be consulting with the President-Elect and other members of the national security team about where special envoys can be most effective. However, no final decisions have been made yet regarding the appointment of special envoys.

- b. Will you commit to making such envoys available to testify before the Foreign Relations Committee on issues related to their duties?

As Secretary, it will be a top priority for me to insure that the Committee is closely consulted and informed about the Department's diplomatic efforts and the Department will make available the appropriate person to answer the Committee's questions.

3. During the Presidential campaign, you stated: "[W]hen I become president, Bill Clinton, my dear husband, will be one of the people who will be sent around the world as a roving ambassador to make it very clear to the rest of the world that we're back to a policy of reaching out and working and trying to make friends and allies and stopping the alienation of the rest of the world."

Do you expect President Clinton to serve as a roving ambassador on behalf of the Obama Administration or the Department of State? If so, what will his specific role and mandate be?

Any role that President Clinton plays with the incoming administration is for President-Elect Obama to decide.

Resources for State Department Programs

At the end of the Bush Administration, Secretary of Defense Gates advocated strongly for additional personnel and resources for the Department of State, lamenting that the total number of Foreign Service Officers was less than the numbers of sailors on a single aircraft carrier group, and allegedly, less than the number of active military band members.

4. Do you believe the State Department currently has sufficient numbers of personnel, with appropriate training, skill sets, and resources to effectively perform the necessary work of advancing U.S. interests around the globe?

Based on the briefings I have received so far, I do not believe the Department has an adequate number of personnel. The men and women of the Foreign Service and Civil Service also need additional training opportunities, as well as resources, to carry out the many responsibilities assigned to the Department. If confirmed, I intend to work closely with the President and the Congress to secure the necessary resources for the Département.

5. You have signed several letters during your Senate service advocating either that the Function 150 Account should receive a substantial increase or that the President's proposed 150 Account increase should not be reduced. One such delegation letter sent on April 20, 2004, to the Appropriations Chairman and Ranking Member said "we urge you to allocate at least the President's request for the civilian foreign affairs agencies and their programs." Another delegation letter that you signed was sent on December 15, 2004, to President Bush. It called for "a robust increase in the FY06 150 International Affairs Budget as an essential investment in America's fight against terrorism and efforts to build global stability..." On March 16, 2005, during the FY 2006 Budget Resolution debate, you voted along with most Senators to cut the 150 Account by \$410 million and transfer the funding to Veterans Health Care.
 - a. As Secretary of State, would you actively advocate against the use of the 150 Account as an offset for other budgetary priorities, regardless of what those priorities are?

If confirmed, I intend to work to increase the 150 account, and I intend to work with the Congress to fully fund the President's budget requests.

- b. What role will you play as an advocate for resources for State Department programs in the Obama Administration and what do you see as the most pressing needs for the State Department at this time?

If confirmed, I intend to be a strong advocate for resources for the Department. I also hope the Senate will promptly consider the nomination of Jack Lew, who the President will nominate for the new post of Deputy Secretary for Management and Resources. As a former OMB Director, Jack is well equipped to assist me in ensuring that additional resources are used effectively and efficiently. Any organization is only as strong as its people, and as strong as the Foreign Service and Civil Service are, I believe that the most pressing need, in the near-term, is for the Department to have additional Foreign and Civil Service officers to meet requirements.

Foreign Assistance

Foreign Assistance Resources

6. Do you believe that the current budget for the State Department's foreign assistance programs provides adequate resources for these programs? Do you intend to advocate for increased resources for the State Department's foreign assistance programs within the Obama Administration?

Throughout the campaign, President-Elect Obama stated many times the importance of development assistance to America's foreign policy and national security. And he pledged to double foreign assistance. I hope that the Congress will work with the new Administration in meeting this goal, and I can assure you that the State Department will stand ready to implement these programs and more fully integrate development as one of three pillars to a new security strategy, with defense and diplomacy standing as the other two pillars. To meet the expressed goals of this Congress and the priorities that the President-Elect will establish, including the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, will require more resources. Defense Secretary Robert Gates believes that future success in foreign policy and the fight against terrorism will be "less a matter of imposing one's will and more a function of shaping behavior -- of friends, adversaries, and, most importantly, the people in between." He's absolutely right. Considering the importance of the work ahead, we cannot fail simply for a lack of will or resources. There are few other places in the budget where dollars invested literally mean lives saved.

7. Given the expected constraints of a growing federal budget deficit, a global financial crisis, continued commitments to conflict and crises overseas, what priorities will you establish in assistance areas to guide difficult trade-off decisions as Secretary?

Without question, funding will be a major challenge, not only for Fiscal Year 2010 but for the next several years. President-Elect Obama and this Congress will evaluate every spending priority based on what works and what doesn't, and what fits best with America's national security and economic interests. Among other things, we know that U.S. investments targeting preventable diseases like AIDS and malaria are affordable, effective, and proven. We know that taking on extreme

poverty with sustainable, smart, innovative solutions is working. And this work increases our security here at home and our influence around the world. Working in partnership, Congress and the Obama Administration will have to make smart, strategic budget choices that deal with our problems here at home while also continuing to support effective initiatives that save lives, strengthen our security, and restore America's position in the world.

Coordination with DOD Security Assistance Programs

There has been a recent migration of State Department authorities to the Department of Defense. Some are temporary measures such as the responsibility for training and equipping police forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Others appear intended to become permanent, including Section 1206 of the FY 2006 Defense Authorization Act that grants the Defense Department authority to train and equip foreign militaries, a function traditionally performed by State Department programs under longstanding authorities in the Foreign Assistance Act.

8. Do you believe the State Department should continue to have the lead role within the U.S. Government in implementing U.S. security assistance programs? If so, what specific steps do you plan to take as Secretary to address this issue?

Yes. If confirmed, I plan to consult with Secretary Gates and other members of the President-Elect's national security team to develop the optimum structure for security assistance programs. In this constrained budget environment, it is an imprudent use of taxpayer resources to duplicate assistance structures throughout the government.

9. Are there areas where you believe an expanded role for the Department of Defense in implementing security assistance programs is appropriate and useful?

As stated above, if confirmed, I plan to consult with Secretary Gates and other members of the President-Elect's national security team to develop the optimum structure for security assistance programs.

10. What steps do you intend to take as Secretary to ensure that adequate resources are allocated to security assistance programs implemented by the State Department?

If confirmed, one of my priorities as Secretary will be to work with Congress to increase resources of the Department as well as to make better use of the resources the Department already has. As part of that process, I will be reviewing the current authorities and resources for security assistance and look forward to consulting with Congress on insuring that the appropriate level of resources is allocated for security assistance programs.

State Department Management of Foreign Assistance Programs

In a 2007 Committee report entitled “Embassies Grapple to Guide Foreign Aid”, Foreign Relations Committee staff identified short-comings of a Washington-centric foreign assistance strategy. The report also highlighted the value of the new Office of the Director of Foreign Assistance at the Deputy Secretary level in the State Department. Other recommendations included: that the assistance planning process should be more inclusive of Ambassadors and Mission Directors and their teams in the field; continuing to make transparent the budget process within the executive and with Congress; further consolidation of budget planning and reporting capabilities.

11. Will you retain the position of Director of Foreign Assistance as a confirmable position at the Deputy Secretary of State level?

If confirmed, I intend to closely review this question soon after taking office.

12. What if any changes will you institute with regard to the role and purpose of the position of Director of Foreign Assistance? How will you ensure that the positive consolidation of budget reporting that has taken place in this nascent foreign assistance reform process be sustained?

I understand that the creation of this position has had led to an improvement in the reporting of budget data to the Department management and the Congress. Under any circumstance, these improvements must be maintained.

13. Whereas less than 60 percent of total U.S. foreign assistance falls under the jurisdiction of the State Department and USAID, what steps would you recommend to develop a more comprehensive and whole-of-government approach to U.S. foreign assistance programs? Is there a role for the DFA to play in this effort?

As I indicated, I have not made any decision on whether to retain the position of Director of Foreign Assistance. I do believe that close coordination between State and USAID is essential. The Administration will also review whether other programs can be consolidated to improve budget planning, coordination, and execution.

14. Various studies have recommended that the new Administration reorganize how foreign assistance is managed, including calls for elevating development to a Cabinet-level department. Other options include a strengthened aid agency or consolidating aid programs under the State Department.

- a. What are your views on how to elevate development as a component of U.S. foreign policy?
- b. What organizational changes would you recommend?
- c. Where do you believe the Millennium Challenge Corporation fits into any new restructuring?

During the campaign, the President-Elect promised to elevate development in U.S. foreign policy. The Administration will promptly review whether fulfilling that objective will necessitate organizational changes. The MCC has been innovative in foreign assistance and we intend to review how its programs can best be managed.

Middle East Issues

Israel/Gaza

15. With recent renewed violence in southern Israel and Gaza, and the expiration of the Egyptian-brokered cease-fire agreement, what should be the role of the United States in seeking to achieve an end to the violence, and the creation of a durable peace, not simply a return to a long stalemate? What role do you expect to play as Secretary on this issue?

We are obviously very concerned about the serious situation in Gaza. President-Elect Obama has spoken about his deep concern for the loss of civilian life in Gaza and Israel, and we all agree that it is very important that a durable ceasefire be achieved. That will require an end to Hamas rocket fire at Israeli civilians, an effective mechanism to prevent smuggling of weapons into Gaza, and an effective border regime. We will work hard with our international partners to make sure all these elements are achieved.

The ceasefire should be accompanied by a serious effort to address the immediate humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people and a longer term reconstruction and development effort. The Bush Administration is in the middle of sensitive diplomatic negotiations on behalf of the United States, so it is best that I not comment specifically on the negotiations underway.

The Administration plans to be actively engaged on diplomacy in the Middle East in pursuit of peace agreements to resolve conflicts. The Administration is committed to helping Israel and the Palestinians achieve their goal of two states living side by side in peace and security, and will work toward this goal from the beginning of the Administration.

Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

16. To what extent will the *Road Map for Middle East Peace* remain a guiding document for Obama Administration policy with respect to the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process? What changes, if any, to the Road Map do you believe are necessary for it to be a viable framework for future peace efforts?

The Road Map, with the mutual obligations it places on the parties, remains one of the important bases for working toward a two-state solution. There are other important bases, including the negotiations that grew out of the 2007 Annapolis conference, and which the parties report have made progress. Our commitment is to help them build on that progress and achieve their goal of two states living side by side in peace and security.

17. Given President-Elect Obama's repeated comments about making peace between Israel and the Palestinians a top priority issue early in his administration, what would you do specifically to build on the work done last year through the Annapolis process and where would the issue of Israeli-Palestinian peace fall among your priorities as Secretary of State? Do you expect to be personally involved in peace efforts or do you expect the primary work to fall to another Department official or a special envoy?

If confirmed, there is no doubt that helping Israelis and Palestinians achieve peace and security through a two-state solution will be one of the priority issues to which I will devote time and attention. Success in this effort is in our national security interests, just as it is in the interests of Israelis and Palestinians. So I certainly intend to be personally involved in these efforts, together with other officials in the State Department. No decisions have been made about the personnel structure we will use to implement our Middle East peace efforts.

18. In view of comments you made in June 2008 that the United States will never "impose a made-in-America solution" to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, what role do you think the United States should take in helping to bridge the gaps between the two parties on sensitive issues like Jerusalem, refugees and borders? If the two parties continue to be unable to reach a comprehensive agreement on the final status issues, would you be prepared to have the United States offer "bridging proposals"?

The specific role the Administration would play in helping Israel and the Palestinians reach agreements, including on final status issues, would very much be determined as an outgrowth of consultations with the parties. We have not held these discussions, or any discussions with foreign governments, during the transition because of the principle that the United States has one president at a time.

19. I met this fall with Lieutenant General Dayton, who has made painstaking gains in the arena of Palestinian security sector reform.
- a. What would you do as Secretary of State to continue these efforts, as well as those of special envoy and now National Security Advisor-designate, Jim Jones?
 - b. What specific actions would you take to continue U.S. support for Palestinian efforts to end terror?
 - c. Do you believe progress can be made on the negotiating track if Palestinian security forces are unable or unwilling to sufficiently crack down on extremists?

General Jones, General Selva, and General Dayton have each played important and constructive roles in advancing U.S. efforts to promote peace between Israel and the Palestinians. The Palestinian National Security Force and Presidential Guard members who have been trained in Jordan under the auspices of the United States Security Coordinator have performed well in early tests in Jenin and Hebron. This is an important element of strengthening Palestinian capabilities to enable the Palestinian Authority to meet its commitments to combat terrorism and maintain law and order, which are crucial to improving daily life of Palestinians and ensuring security for Israelis. The Congress has provided \$143 million in funding for this successful program. I will be consulting with General Keith Dayton and with the Congress to determine appropriate funding levels for this program to continue to achieve positive results.

20. In June 2008, you noted a link between “security and opportunity” and how providing children with hope can “help dry up the swamp of fear and pessimism that breeds terrorism.” What would you do to bolster support for Palestinian efforts to develop a sustainable economy – a key component of the Annapolis process – including addressing key movement and access impediments and Israeli security concerns?

There is no doubt that improving economic conditions and daily life for Palestinians are key elements of achieving success in Israeli-Palestinian peace efforts. This is, in fact, a point of consensus between Israelis and Palestinians, and they have reached a series of agreements over it.

Some of these agreements have not been fully implemented, either on the side of improving the Palestinian economy and easing movement and access side, or on the side of dealing with Israel's security concerns. So the first task is likely to be to working with the parties to try to get these agreements implemented. From that basis, it will be easier to promote additional investment in the Palestinian economy.

Egypt

21. The U.S.-Egyptian relationship, despite strains, differences of view, and mini-crises, has been one of the most profound and productive bilateral interactions our country has enjoyed over these years. Nevertheless, it is often criticized for lack of progress on human rights issues, political liberalization and democratization. Recognizing that Egypt has often chosen stability over change, what tools will you use to coax Egypt toward greater political transparency, pluralism, and freedoms?

Egypt is an important ally, which retains an important leadership position in the Arab world, and a key to the security of the region. Bilateral cooperation between the United States and Egypt remains strong, and we recognize Egyptian attempts to mediate a ceasefire between Hamas and Israel. At the same time, we will work to support greater political freedom in Egypt and throughout the Arab world, through a mature dialogue with the leadership, and direct engagement with the people. Our role is not to impose reform from the outside, but to help Egyptians at all levels develop and pursue a dialogue about the reforms that they seek for their society. And we will always stand up for our principles and speak out in support of human rights.

Lebanon

22. What do you see as the key U.S. strategic priorities in Lebanon and how to you propose to accomplish these goals?

Key strategic priorities include Lebanese sovereignty and political stability, the disarmament of Hezbollah, and security on the Israeli-Syrian border. President-Elect Obama is committed to the full implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolutions that reinforce Lebanon's sovereignty and end the smuggling of weapons to Hezbollah. We need to work with our partners on the Security Council to consider

additional measures to strengthen enforcement tools and toughen penalties for violators. We are also committed to ensuring the international tribunal investigating the assassination of former Prime Minister Hariri is based on the highest standards of criminal justice and international law.

23. What can the United States do further to ensure the success of Lebanon's Qatar-brokered political compromise between the governing March 14th coalition and the Hezbollah-led opposition?

Efforts to promote compromise among Lebanon's disparate political groups should be conducted with a view toward strengthening the institutions of the central government, including the courts and the Lebanese Armed Forces. Helping the Lebanese build an economic infrastructure that provides for a fair distribution of services, opportunities, and employment is also important. And we need to stand with the government and people of Lebanon against those who would undermine Lebanon's sovereignty, threaten Lebanon's political stability, and seek conflict between Lebanon and its neighbors.

24. How will the Obama Administration respond should Hezbollah do well in Lebanon's upcoming parliamentary elections and serve in a unity government or potentially even be called to form a government?

Without speculating about the outcome of another country's elections, I would say that the Administration will always stand with those in Lebanon who seek peace with their neighbors, stability and equality of opportunity at home, and a strong central government dedicated to these principles and to meeting the needs of all Lebanese.

25. What would you recommend be done to accomplish Hezbollah disarmament while preserving Lebanese stability? To what extent does U.S. military assistance to the Lebanese Armed Forces play a role? What are the broader strategic implications for U.S. military aid to Lebanon?

President-Elect Obama is committed to implementing U.N. Security Council Resolutions that reinforce Lebanon's sovereignty by requiring the disarming of militias and preventing their rearmament. We need to work with our partners on the Security Council to consider additional measures to toughen penalties for violators, and strengthen enforcement

tools. Strengthening the institutions of the central government, including the Lebanese Armed Forces, is a key element of this strategy. As with any assistance to a foreign military, appropriate safeguards are necessary to ensure that our assistance is only used in ways that advance our interests.

Syria

26. Do you believe that continuing to isolate Syria is in our best interests or in the best interests of peace in the region?

The United States and Syria have profound differences on important issues, and the President-Elect and I believe that engaging directly with Syria increases the possibility of making progress on changing Syrian behavior. In these talks, we should insist on our core demands: cooperation in stabilizing Iraq; ending support for terrorist groups; stopping the flow of weapons to Hezbollah; and respect for Lebanon's sovereignty and independence. We should engage directly to help Israel and Syria succeed in their peace efforts, which both parties have indicated could help advance the talks. The prospects of success in these talks are unknown, but we are committed to making every effort to help them succeed.

27. Will the Administration be actively supporting Israel-Syria proximity talks?

Yes.

Saudi Arabia and the Gulf

28. During the Presidential campaign, you stated that the United States “need[s] to be moving quickly toward a coming to terms with our oil companies and our oil producing country allies. We need to demonstrate our commitment to home-grown energy. We can’t do that, I know, until the two oil men leave the White House but as soon as they do, we have to be ready aggressively.”

- a. Is it the view of the Obama Administration that such a “coming to terms” is necessary with countries that produce oil?

The United States must free itself from dependence on foreign oil. Our addiction to foreign oil doesn't just undermine our national security and wreak havoc on our environment – it also cripples our economy and strains the budgets of working families. This is why President-Elect Obama has proposed an investment of \$15 billion a year over 10 years to develop alternative and renewable sources of energy. This plan will help to create millions of jobs, protect our environment, and move America in the direction of energy independence and away from foreign oil.

- b. If so, what specific changes will such an approach involve in U.S. policy toward oil producing states?

Our principal goal will be to reduce our reliance on oil-producing countries. The Obama-Biden comprehensive New Energy for America plan proposes strategically investing \$150 billion over the next ten years, which will help create millions of jobs and catalyze private efforts to build a clean energy future. The goal is to expand the use of American-made hybrid cars, ensure that ten percent of our electricity comes from renewable energy sources by 2012, and twenty-five percent comes from renewable sources by 2025. We will implement an economy-wide cap-and-trade program to reduce greenhouse gas emissions 80 percent by 2050, and strive to make America a global leader when it comes to energy efficiency and the environment.

29. What will your objectives be with respect to policy toward Saudi Arabia?

Saudi Arabia can be a key partner in helping the United States achieve many of our foreign policy priorities. Foreign policy priorities of the Obama Administration include ending the war in Iraq responsibly, finishing the fight against the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan, preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, combating international terrorism, and renewing American diplomacy to support strong alliances and to seek a lasting peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We will work with our international partners, including Saudi Arabia, to meet these goals. We will also work to promote reform and democratization, women's rights, and success in the struggle against extremism inside Saudi Arabia.

Iran

30. What steps do you intend to take as Secretary to address the threat posed by Iran's nuclear program? How can additional pressure on Iran be mobilized most effectively? What prospects do you see in this regard for further measures in the UN Security Council?

The new Administration will present the Iranian regime with a clear choice: abandon your nuclear weapons program, support for terror and threats to Israel and there will be meaningful incentives; refuse, and we will ratchet up the pressure, with stronger unilateral sanctions; stronger multilateral sanctions in the Security Council; and sustained action outside the UN to isolate the Iranian regime. A nuclear-armed Iran is unacceptable, and all elements of American power are on the table to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon – that must begin with the power of aggressive American diplomacy.

31. During the Presidential campaign, President-Elect Obama expressed support for direct diplomacy with Iran.
- a. What steps does the Administration intend to take to pursue such direct diplomacy with Iran?
 - b. Do you support the opening of a U.S. interests section in Iran as a means for increased U.S.-Iranian dialogue?

The Obama Administration will support tough, aggressive and direct diplomacy, without preconditions, with our adversaries. Note that there is a distinction between preparations and preconditions. For possible negotiations with Iran, there must be careful preparation – including low-level talks, coordination with allies, the establishment of an agenda, and an evaluation of the potential for progress.

The U.S. should support and participate in ongoing efforts with our European allies and assemble an international coalition that will exert a collective will on Iran so that it is in their own interest to verifiably abandon their nuclear weapons efforts

We will carefully prepare for any negotiations— open up lines of communication, build an agenda, coordinate closely with our allies, and evaluate the potential for progress.

We will not sit down with Iran just for the sake of talking. But we are willing to lead tough and principled diplomacy with the appropriate Iranian leader at a time and place of our choosing – if, and only if – it can advance the interests of the United States.

We should be careful not to let our engagement with Iran be used by the Iranian regime in the run-up to the June presidential election – but the elections should not prevent us from starting a dialogue if we determine that there is a genuine intent to engage.

By exhausting diplomacy, we will be better able to rally the world to our side, strengthen multilateral sanctions, and to convince the Iranian people that their own government is the author of its isolation.

The decision regarding whether to open a U.S. interests section in Tehran is under review and no decision has been made yet.

32. Would you agree that Iran is in a position to impede as well as advance Israeli-Palestinian peace through its influence with Hezbollah and Hamas? How can we modify their behavior toward these regional issues?

Iran poses a serious threat to Israel, as demonstrated by its pursuit of nuclear weapons and support of Hezbollah and Hamas. Iran has been a source of regional instability and an impediment to peace, and we intend to use all tools at our disposal to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon and end its support of terror. This begins with direct, aggressive, and principled diplomacy and may include an expansion of sanctions.

Iraq

33. What do you see as the top national security interests that remain for the United States with respect to Iraq?

I would define our security interests in Iraq the same as how the President-Elect has defined it: A transition to an Iraqi government that can take responsibility for its future and that leads a country at peace with itself and its neighbors – a peace that prevents sectarian conflict, protects Iraq's sovereignty, and ensures that an al Qaeda threat does not reemerge.

34. What opportunities do you see for the broader international community to become more involved in Iraq? Do you sense a willingness on the part of the EU or other organizations to engage more robustly?

The Obama Administration will pursue a diplomatic initiative with all of Iraq's neighbors – including Iran and Syria – and the UN to secure Iraq's borders, isolate al Qaeda, and support national reconciliation within Iraq. It is in the interest of Iraq's neighbors and the international community to have a stable Iraq that does not become a battleground for sectarian tensions and animosities. And we will communicate that. More broadly, we have a range of diplomatic tools at our disposal that we can deploy to persuade and press Iraq's neighbors to play a constructive role. We have let these tools languish in recent years, but they have served us well in advancing our interests in other difficult conflicts. They can serve us well in Iraq.

As for our European allies, they too have an interest in a stable Iraq, and I look forward to working with them to see how they might engage diplomatically or otherwise to make that possible.

35. The Bush Administration suggested that one of the objectives of the surge was to tamp down violence to provide the space for political actors to make the concessions necessary to bring about lasting peace and reconciliation. In your estimation, has that happened? What will you do to bring that reconciliation about?

There have been security gains in Iraq, but political progress toward lasting peace and reconciliation has been less successful. The Obama

Administration will proceed with the following overall strategy and core principles we will bring to this set of security and political challenges.

First, as we all know, Iraq is a sovereign country, and any steps we take on security matters moving forward will have to be taken in consultation with the Iraqis. We will certainly do our best to press the Iraqi government to combat sectarianism in their security forces – and we'll tie future training resources to progress on this front. Improved Iraqi security forces cannot fully replace U.S. forces, but they can certainly help, if the Iraqis step up.

Second, we will take additional steps to help the Iraqi government consolidate the security gains that have been made in the past two years – gains that have facilitated more intensive and effective rebuilding and aid efforts. That will include an intensive diplomatic and political strategy, including an effort to forge a comprehensive compact with Iraq's neighbors.

Third, we will pay particular attention to the humanitarian crisis in Iraq, which risks destabilizing parts of the country. We are committed to an aggressive effort to assist displaced Iraqis. But these are serious challenges, and much of this turns on the capacity and willingness of the Iraqis themselves.

36. Iran continues to be the most problematic of Iraq's neighbors from the U.S. perspective. How do you assess Iranian interests with respect to Iraq? What will your priorities be in seeking to manage Iran's impact on Iraq?

Iran has been the largest beneficiary of the policy failures in Iraq. It has strengthened its position in the Middle East and continues to pursue nuclear weapons, issue threats against Israel, support terrorist organizations including Hezbollah and Hamas, and it continues to meddle in Iraq, where it seeks a Shia-dominated government that is too weak to challenge Iran's dominant regional position. President-Elect Obama intends to use tough, principled diplomacy to mitigate the threats posed by Iran against its neighbors, including Iraq.

Iraq is an independent, sovereign state and we wish to see it develop and flourish. Iraq will determine the character of its ties with its neighbors, including Iran. Having normal relations with trade is surely what Iraq

seeks. Our interests are in supporting Iraqi independence. To the extent that Iran threatens that or seeks to de-stabilize Iraq out of a desire to build its leverage over Iraq and its future, our priorities will be geared to supporting Iraq's ability to shape its own destiny.

37. Do you believe current arrangements for the security of U.S. diplomatic personnel and facilities in Iraq are appropriate? Do you believe the Department can continue to rely on contractors such as Blackwater to provide security for its operations? Should the Department of State develop the capability to transport and guard diplomats in challenging environments such as Iraq and Afghanistan?

Ensuring security for U.S. diplomatic personnel and facilities in Iraq is essential. Right now, much of the rebuilding is taking place under a security umbrella provided by the brave young men and women of our armed forces. Their departure from critical areas in Iraq will certainly change the security calculus. How we deal with this challenge – both generally and specifically with respect to Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) – has been and will continue to be the subject of discussions among the national security team and with the President-Elect.

Both the President-Elect and I have been outspoken in calling for more oversight and accountability for private contractors and more tools to stop abuses in Iraq. I have been highly skeptical of heavily armed military contractors who have operated in Iraq without any law or court to rein them in or hold them accountable. These contractors have at times been reckless and have at times compromised our mission in Iraq.

I look forward to working with the President-Elect and the Congress to establish the legal status of contractor personnel, so that we can prosecute any abuses committed by private military contractors. In addition, our experience in Iraq has shown that there must be serious oversight and effective program management – and that starts at the State Department. I will be especially vigilant about this. Finally, it is important to remember that there are many private contractors in Iraq and elsewhere who are honorable, hardworking, and patriotic. But we have seen too many abuses in the past few years to do anything less than

impose a new legal regime to hold security firms and individual personnel accountable when they act outside the law.

The protection of State Department personnel operating in areas like Afghanistan and Iraq is an important issue and I look forward to working, along with other members of the President's national security team, to exploring the best way to address that issue if confirmed.

38. What impact do you anticipate the drawdown of U.S. forces in Iraq to have on the State Department's ability to carry out its operations there? What steps will you take as Secretary to ensure that State Department undertakes appropriate transition planning in connection with the military drawdown?

As explained in my answer to the question above, much of the rebuilding in Iraq is taking place under a security umbrella provided by the brave young men and women of our armed forces. Their departure from critical areas in Iraq will certainly change the security calculus. How we deal with this challenge – both generally and specifically with respect to PRTs – has been and will continue to be the subject of discussions among the national security team and with the President-Elect. But if confirmed as Secretary, I will ensure that the State Department undertakes all appropriate transition planning to deal with all contingencies concerning our diplomatic security that might arise from a reduction of military personnel.

Africa

Sudan/Darfur

39. During your campaign for President, you were critical of the UN's response to the crisis in Darfur. What specific steps do you intend to take as Secretary to improve the effectiveness of UN efforts to address the situation in Darfur, including the UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)?

Today, the most immediate and urgent means of providing protection as swiftly as possible to the civilians at risk is the rapid and full implementations of the deployment of the UN-AU peacekeeping force, UNAMID. The pace of UNAMID's deployment needs to be accelerated, combined with sufficient logistical support to protect civilians on the ground. If confirmed I will work with my colleagues and the President-Elect to send a clear message to Khartoum that they must end obstruction of the UN force (UNAMID), including through endless bureaucratic hurdles and delays. We also need to address some of the UN's own requirements that have inadvertently slowed UNAMID's deployment thus far. If necessary, the Obama Administration will take steps to help move needed troops and equipment into place on an urgent basis.

40. Many have been critical of China's role in the Security Council in opposing stronger and more effective UN action on Darfur. What specific steps do you intend to take as Secretary to gain greater cooperation from China in efforts to address Darfur?

Cooperation in the Security Council must be at the center of our efforts to build an effective and responsive UN. With its fast growing economy, ever-growing global interests, and expanding population, China should be expected to assume a more active role on the Security Council, on Sudan and Darfur and elsewhere. The Council's capacity to effectively address key issues derives directly from the ability of its members to identify shared objectives and build pragmatic working relationships. This will be particularly true for the United States and China. Prospects for such collaboration on the Council improve when there are effective, sustained, direct, and serious consultations and negotiations among the Council Members. There are, and will continue to be, times when, despite best efforts, effective Council action is not possible.

41. During the Presidential campaign, you urged consideration of a greater role for NATO in addressing the situation in Darfur, including a potential NATO role in enforcing a no-fly zone.
- a. Is it the position of the Obama administration that NATO forces or assets should be deployed to Darfur?
 - b. Does the Obama administration believe that NATO forces could play such a role without diminishing the effectiveness of ongoing NATO operations in Afghanistan?
 - c. Current UN Security Council resolutions do not authorize individual states operating independently from the UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) to enforce a no-fly zone over Darfur. Would the Obama Administration support the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Darfur by individual states in the absence of additional authority from the UN Security Council?

President-Elect Obama and Vice President-Elect Biden and I have been very clear and forceful in our condemnation of the genocide in Sudan and in our commitment to far more robust actions to try to end the genocide and maximize protection for civilians. We have made very clear our intent to pursue more effective diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict that underlies the genocide.

We have all also advocated the implementation of a no-fly zone as well as far more robust sanctions on the government of Sudan, both of which Congress has also endorsed.

We've made no final decisions on a no-fly zone, or on the deployment of NATO assets to Darfur. I would anticipate that the questions of Sudan and Darfur would be subject to early policy review of all steps that the U.S. can take to most effectively and urgently maximize protection for civilians. The impact of any actions on our interests elsewhere – including Afghanistan – would be part of that review.

Sudan/CPA

42. How will the Obama Administration help sustain the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for Sudan which reaches a pivotal point with the referendum on secession in the next two years?

As a guarantor of the CPA, the United States has a special responsibility to ensure that implementation of this landmark agreement remains a priority even in the midst of the Darfur crisis. We will work bilaterally to increase support to the Government of Southern Sudan to bolster capacity and good governance, and multilaterally to assure appropriate donor coordination and ongoing political and financial support for CPA implementation. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement aims to give the Sudanese people greater voice in their political future, and this will remain a priority. National elections that were supposed to be held by July 2009 will clearly be delayed, but the United States will work to ensure that the delay is not protracted, and that free, fair, safe elections are held before the year is out. Preparations for the 2011 referendum must remain on track as well to retain the confidence of the South.

Somalia

43. What steps do you believe should be taken to stabilize the security situation in Somalia?

Somalia's complex emergency is daunting, and U.S. leadership is desperately needed to help address this multi-faceted emergency. Failed states like Somalia provide dangerous opportunities to terrorist organizations and international criminals, and they destabilize entire regions.

The U.S. will work with other donors and with Somalis to improve the security conditions for humanitarian operations on the ground. The United States will continue to work with allies and with the shipping industry to combat piracy in the Gulf of Aden and along the East African coast. Ultimately, Somalia can be stabilized only by ensuring that a competent, consensus-based government is in place with the capacity to provide order for the Somali people. We continue to look for diplomatic opportunities to stabilize the security situation in Somalia.

44. The Bush Administration has advocated the establishment of a UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia. Do you support this idea? If so, what do you believe the appropriate size and mandate for such a mission would be?

I believe we need to take a very careful look at this issue. There are no good solutions in Somalia. The question is whether a UN peacekeeping force, assuming it is successfully stood-up and deployed, advances our efforts to confront terrorism, address the humanitarian crisis, and promote reconciliation in Somalia. I expect to consider this issue in the near future with the President-Elect and my colleagues in the Cabinet.

Zimbabwe

45. What actions will you take as Secretary of State to address the ongoing human rights and humanitarian crisis in Zimbabwe?

The people of Zimbabwe have suffered for far too long under a corrupt leadership that does not serve the needs of its people. The destruction of Zimbabwe's economy and repeated abuses of power have been a

catastrophe for Zimbabweans, and threaten the stability of the region. The United States and the world must take steps to address this growing crisis. Widened U.S. sanctions are appropriate. It was the right policy to have supported a UN Security Council resolution calling for targeted sanctions and an arms embargo. As Zimbabwe's crisis continues and becomes even more destabilizing to the Southern African region, South Africa, the African Union, and the SADC must play a stronger role in pressuring the Mugabe regime.

It will require concerted and sustained diplomacy to try to get the international community to acknowledge the need to act to apply more pressure to the illegitimate government of Robert Mugabe, and to bring an end to the man-made humanitarian crisis that grips Zimbabwe today. The Zimbabwean people are suffering and the U.S. will push for more efforts, including having humanitarian NGOs resume activity in Zimbabwe. We will need to consider incentives for reform, and work closely with the EU and other international donors to create a very generous aid and recovery package for Zimbabwe. We would make very clear the specific and practical steps that any Zimbabwean government can take to qualify for this package.

Eastern Congo

46. The conflict in Eastern Congo has brought human rights violations and humanitarian deprivation on a large scale, in the same region and involving some of the same actors that produced the Rwandan genocide. What actions will you take to help resolve this regional crisis?

The situation in Congo is deeply disturbing. The President-Elect and I have both supported efforts on behalf of a lasting solution to Congo's political disputes. The United States can encourage all parties in Congo and in the region to pursue a negotiated solution and refrain from fueling additional conflict. Ending the crisis and preventing a return to widespread conflict will be a multilateral effort. The Security Council was right to take steps to strengthen MONUC, and the U.S. should support former Nigerian President Obasanjo's diplomatic efforts.

AFRICOM

47. What role do you foresee for the newly created Africa Combatant Command with regard to foreign policy and foreign assistance resources?

The President-Elect supports the concept of AFRICOM, as do I, but we want to make sure that it is implemented properly. I look forward to working on behalf of the President-Elect, with Secretary Gates and General Jones, and with African nations on this issue. The original concept behind AFRICOM was that our engagement with Africa will be improved by streamlining our command structure so that there is a single unified command responsible for Africa, rather than three separate commands as has been the case. The President-Elect has warned that we must be very careful not to over-militarize our relations with African nations. On the other hand, there is a role to play for AFRICOM in helping train and equip African rapid response forces for peacekeeping operations. AFRICOM can also contribute to an enhanced capability of African nations to patrol their own waters.

48. How will the State Department and USAID interact with AFRICOM within Africa?

A well-conceived AFRICOM – one that plays the traditional role of a combatant command rather than supplants the State Department's traditional role – can enhance U.S. government efforts to foster peace and stability on the continent. I look forward to working with Secretary Gates and others to ensure that AFRICOM complements the efforts of State Department and USAID.

Afghanistan

49. What steps do you believe the United States should take to promote Afghanistan's stability and development? How can we most effectively mobilize international support for such efforts? What role do you intend to play as Secretary on these issues?

If I am confirmed, designing and implementing a more effective strategy in Afghanistan will be one of my highest priorities at the State Department. We have lost ground in Afghanistan over the past seven years. Our strategy has to acknowledge Afghanistan as it is, not as we hoped it would be seven years ago. We also have to acknowledge that we will not see progress in Afghanistan overnight. The President-Elect and the entire national security team understand Afghanistan and northwest Pakistan are the central front in the war on terror, and we know that it is critical that we make progress there.

I look forward to working with my colleagues to implement a new set of strategies that will help us confront the resurgence of the Taliban and the persistent threat of al Qaeda in Afghanistan. Additional troops are certainly a part of that – though Secretary Gates can better speak to the military dimensions of our efforts in Afghanistan.

The President-Elect and I have consistently said that our strategy in Afghanistan cannot simply be about adding more troops. He has enunciated an approach that we call “more for more” – more troops and assistance from the U.S. as we seek more from NATO allies, and more from an Afghan government that needs to focus on improving the lives of its people. We also have to implement a coherent Pakistan strategy, one that involves more non-military aid and more pressure on Pakistan to fight terror. With this set of principles, and with the resources, focus and diplomatic effort that Afghanistan deserves – and has been denied because of our entanglement in Iraq – we believe that we can make progress in supporting the people of Afghanistan and preventing al Qaeda from staging future attacks.

50. Do you agree that the economic development aspect of stabilization and reconstruction in Afghanistan is as important as security sector reform and how will you assure it is properly resourced?

Economic development is absolutely essential to Afghanistan's stabilization and reconstruction. It is inextricably linked to security. The President-Elect has proposed a "more-for-more" strategy which will provide additional non-military aid each year – above and beyond what is given now. That money will be focused on initiatives dealing with education, infrastructure, human services, and alternative livelihoods for poppy farmers. And it will be accompanied by tougher anti-corruption measures. We will tie aid to better performance by the Afghan national government, including anti-corruption initiatives and efforts to extend the rule of law across the country. We will also work to ensure that investments are made not just in Kabul but out in Afghanistan's provinces.

51. How will you ensure that U.S. assistance to Afghanistan produces results and uses funds efficiently?

As explained above, any U.S. assistance to Afghanistan will be accompanied by tougher anti-corruption measures. We will tie aid to better performance by the Afghan national government, including anti-corruption initiatives and efforts to extend the rule of law across the country. We will also work to ensure that investments are made not just in Kabul but out in Afghanistan's provinces. And, of course, I welcome Congressional oversight and ongoing consultation with this Committee as key tools in ensuring efficient and effective investment of American taxpayer resources.

52. How will you ensure our efforts in Afghanistan are based upon a regional strategic approach by the United States and its partners?

Afghanistan is not just a challenge for the United States – it is a critical security issue for our allies in NATO and for all countries in the region. Afghanistan's considerable problems will not be resolved without the cooperation of these countries, which requires a regional strategic approach. That is what I will seek to implement if confirmed.

That is why we believe our NATO allies must do more. The Obama Administration will seek greater contributions from them in Afghanistan. We will ask our NATO allies to reconsider national restrictions on NATO forces. The NATO force is short-staffed and

some countries contributing forces are imposing restrictions on where their troops can operate, tying the hands of commanders on the ground. The Obama Administration will work with European allies to end these burdensome restrictions and strengthen NATO as a fighting force.

53. There is a consensus that the Afghan judiciary is both ineffective and corrupt, and has been neglected for years by the international community. Property rights, human rights, and sovereign rights are at constant risk. Prosecution of criminals including narcotics traffickers and corrupt officials is severely hampered. This opens up space for the Taliban's version of arbitration and dispute settlement among the people. How will you prioritize the reform and re-establishment of an effective judiciary and rule of law sector that is responsive to Afghanistan's Constitution and its people?

Legal reform is absolutely vital for Afghanistan's future, and working with our partners, this is an issue that we must make a higher priority. As mentioned in a previous question, we will tie aid to better performance by the Afghan national government, including anti-corruption initiatives and efforts to extend the rule of law across the country.

Pakistan

54. What is your assessment of the effectiveness of current U.S. security sector cooperation with Pakistan? Is money for such programs being well spent, and is it helping Pakistan to become a more effective partner in fighting terrorism and in cooperating on other important U.S. interests? Are there ways in which this assistance can be made more effective?

Since 2001, the U.S. assistance program to Pakistan has lacked strategic focus. The President-Elect, the Vice President-Elect and I supported the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2008 as Senators– and I know I speak for each of us when I commend the Ranking Member for his leadership on this vital issue. But this is not a blank check. We should condition military aid on ensuring that Pakistan is taking on the extremists. Should the 111th Congress choose to reintroduce a new version of the legislation, we look forward to working with this Committee and the Congress on legislation to help build a long-term relationship with Pakistan.

55. Do you believe that current levels of economic assistance to Pakistan are sufficient to achieve U.S. objectives in helping Pakistan to achieve political and economic stability? How should U.S. economic assistance be most effectively targeted to meet these objectives?

No.

56. How will you engage a civilian government that is often at odds with powerful military and intelligence institutions?

We need to ensure that we do as much as possible to engage a wide range of Pakistan's democratically elected civilian leaders. In addition, President Zardari needs the support of the military to improve relations with India – to include addressing historical military ties to extremist groups – and the military has sought politicians' support in defending military operations in the Tribal Areas.

57. Following the most recent Mumbai attacks and evidence pointing toward groups supported by Pakistan's intelligence services, what action will you take to ensure U.S. assistance does not provide the means to maintain those military and intelligence elements contrary to our interests?

U.S. military assistance to Pakistan must be conditioned on Pakistan's efforts to close down training camps, evict foreign fighters, and preventing the Taliban and al Qaeda from using Pakistan as a terrorist sanctuary. Non-military assistance should be tripled, with a focus on the border regions, so that over the long-term we are reducing the pull of the extremists.

58. Where do you rank the resolution of Kashmir in U.S. priorities for Pakistan? What role do you believe the United States can play to assist in the resolution of the Kashmir region?

President-Elect Obama and I are very concerned about rising tensions in Kashmir: the situation is dangerous for India, for Pakistan, and for the people of Kashmir. We must encourage all parties to work toward peaceful settlement.

India

The Mumbai attacks in November 2008 are yet another attack in India suspected of emanating from groups in Pakistan that have support among Pakistan military and intelligence agencies. These attacks take place at moments of increasing cooperation between the Indian and Pakistan government and are clearly intended to destabilize relations.

59. What actions will you take to ensure progress in political and economic development in the region despite this spoiler role of terrorist organizations?

We are committed to do as much as possible throughout this critical region to promote political and economic development, and to shut down terrorist networks. In Pakistan, that means increasing non-military assistance, making our military assistance accountable and conditional on Pakistani actions, and doing more to improve the lives of everyday people. In India, it means continuing to deepen our close partnership on a wide range of economic and development issues. We cannot, and will not, allow terrorists to stand in the way of progress.

60. What is your assessment of the reaction India has made to the attack to date?

The Indian people – as well as victims from many other countries, including the United States – suffered a terrible tragedy with the Mumbai attacks. We should support its efforts to pursue a full investigation of who organized and plotted the attack, ultimately bringing the perpetrators to justice.

61. What is your assessment of the response Pakistan has taken since it provided information regarding the attackers?

The Pakistani government must do all it can to find out who perpetrated these horrible attacks and bring these terrorists to justice.

62. What support will you give to the recent civilian nuclear cooperation agreement with India and how will the U.S. ensure such cooperation is limited to civilian purposes?

The Obama Administration will favor a closer relationship between the U.S. and India and believes that civil nuclear cooperation will help build a better relationship. We need to explore how we can take advantage of nuclear agreement to build a wider and deeper relationship India as well as to work together to cement progress on proliferation goals, including ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. As the relationship deepens, the U.S. and India can work together to address global and regional problems of shared concern including proliferation, counterterrorism, poverty and climate change.

63. In a 2007 article in Foreign Affairs, you wrote “As co-chair of the Senate India Caucus, I recognize the tremendous opportunity presented by India’s rise and the need to give the country an augmented voice in regional and international institutions, such as the UN.” In what ways specifically do you believe India’s voice at the UN should be augmented? Do you support India’s desire to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council?

The United States has an enduring interest in a maximally efficient and effective United Nations Security Council. Any expansion would need to preserve both those elements. We recognize that the Council was created many years ago at a time when there were very different international realities and that there is a strongly felt sentiment among many member states that the Security Council should better reflect changing circumstances. The Administration will support expansion of the Security Council in ways that would not impede its effectiveness and its efficiency. We need to make a serious, deliberate effort, consulting closely with key allies and capitals, as well as with the Committee and the Congress, to find a way forward.

East Asia

Japan and China

During the Bush Administration, we witnessed an expansion of the U.S. – Japan relationship to new levels of cooperation on regional and global issues, including our respective national security concerns and areas of economic cooperation. Japan is eager to partner and closely collaborate with the United States to address present and future challenges within Asia. With the re-emergence of China on a global and regional basis, there is elevated tension between China and Japan, and a return to debate on events of history involving both countries.

64. How can the United States most effectively nurture our important relationship with Japan while pursuing constructive engagement with China?

Maintaining both a strong partnership with Japan and a constructive relationship with China are not contradictory; they are entirely consistent with U.S. interests.

A strong and enduring U.S.-Japan alliance, based on common interests and shared values, is the centerpiece for both American and Japanese policy in the Asia-Pacific region. As the world's two wealthiest democracies, the United States and Japan have shared interests that cut across a range of challenging issues: nuclear proliferation, terrorism, financial instability, poverty, and climate change, to name a few. As the relationship continues to broaden and deepen, we must strive to enhance communication and consultation between our two countries, and seek closer coordination on critical issues where we have shared interests and goals, such as how to best resolve the abductee issue in the context of efforts to achieve the complete and verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs. This will ensure that the alliance continues to play its critical role of ensuring security, stability, and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region.

In our relationship with China, we should work where possible to expand the areas of cooperation while managing the areas of competition. It is essential that China's rise be peaceful. The United States cannot by itself ensure that result, but it can help create an environment in which China makes the right choices – choices such as

contributing to global economic stability, ensuring fair trade, supporting international efforts to halt nuclear proliferation, ending support for repressive regimes such as those in Zimbabwe and Burma, protecting human rights, and combating global warming. The Obama Administration will work to promote these and other important objectives in its interaction with China.

Trans-Pacific Trade Agreement

Last fall, U.S. Trade Representative Susan Schwab announced the beginning of talks on a regional trade agreement with Singapore, Chile, New Zealand and Brunei, known as the Transpacific Trade Talks. An eventual Transpacific agreement could be an important doorway for further U.S. economic engagement in Asia. Other countries, including Australia, are considering participation as well.

65. Do you favor continued U.S. participation in the Transpacific Trade Talks?

The Asia-Pacific region as a whole accounts for nearly 60 percent of global GDP and nearly half of world trade. U.S. trade with Asian countries totals nearly \$1 trillion annually. Our economic interaction with Asia underpins our overall relationship with that vital region and enhances both American prosperity and security. I support further expansion of trade with Asia, provided that it is safe, fair, and beneficial to American workers and consumers.

Any trade agreements the Obama Administration pursues will ensure the greatest possible benefits for American exporters, workers and consumers; contain binding standards of labor and environmental protections; and be rigorously monitored and enforced. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to review the status of the Transpacific Trade Talks and determine whether they will advance these objectives.

66. What are specific steps you will propose to increase U.S. trade interaction with East Asia?

As the President-Elect and I have said, strengthening economic ties with Asia enhances both our prosperity and security. I support expanded trade with East Asia provided that it is safe, fair, and beneficial to

American workers and consumers. The Obama Administration will use all the tools at its disposal to expand market access in Asia for U.S. exporters, end unfair trade practices, and ensure that imports into the United States are safe. It is our shared belief that trade in low carbon energy technologies is a win-win for the United States: providing growth in innovative industries in the United States while helping our friends in Asia meet their growing energy needs in a manner consistent with our shared climate goals. Ensuring that the United States will be a technology leader in this innovative field is a priority of the Obama Administration.

ASEAN

The ten nations comprising the Association of Southeast Asian Nations represent the 4th largest export market for the United States. Since its inception in 1967, with the original five nations of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, ASEAN has been an important contributor to stability throughout Southeast and East Asia. Unfortunately, among ASEAN leaders, there has been a lingering perception that the region is not of significant interest to the United States. This impression has been reinforced by Secretary Rice's infrequency of visits to the region, and Assistant Secretary Hill being necessarily occupied with the North Korean nuclear issue.

Over two years ago, I introduced, and the Senate passed legislation establishing the position of U.S. Ambassador for ASEAN Affairs. President Bush eventually proceeded to appoint Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Scot Marciel, to serve as U.S. Ambassador to ASEAN. The United States was the first country to make such an appointment. Japan, China, Vietnam and other countries have followed the U.S. example and appointed Ambassadors to ASEAN.

67. If confirmed, will you recommend continued appointment of a U.S. Ambassador to ASEAN?

I share your assessment of the critical importance of ASEAN and the need for the United States to enhance and elevate its relations with the region. In 2006, President-Elect Obama was one of the cosponsors of your legislation, S. 2697, to establish the position of U.S. Ambassador for ASEAN Affairs, and both he and I were proud to support both that bill and your resolution in the last Congress commemorating the 30th

anniversary of U.S.-ASEAN relations and encouraging President Bush to make this important appointment. If confirmed, I would recommend to the President the continued appointment of a U.S. Ambassador for ASEAN affairs, and look forward to working with you and other members of Congress to assure that this position continues to play an important role in advancing U.S. relations with the region.

68. Will you be prepared to travel to Southeast Asia early in your term of office?

While it would be premature of me to comment on my future travel schedule if I am confirmed as Secretary of State, I understand the importance of consistent high-level U.S. diplomatic engagement with Southeast Asia and, if confirmed, would seek to explore all the options for early travel to the region.

69. What are additional ways of reinforcing the U.S. – ASEAN relationship?

I believe that it is critical that the United States maintain a strong presence in the region, and that our diplomacy be active, forward-leaning, and engaged at every level. That includes, of course, the participation of the Secretary of State in such gatherings as the ASEAN Regional Forum meetings, but also consideration, when and as appropriate, of a Presidential-level summit with ASEAN. Also, if confirmed I would look forward to working with the President and with this Committee to explore the desirability and feasibility of the United States signing the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation with ASEAN.

Six Party Talks

The Six Party Talks focusing on the North Korea nuclear issue have provided a helpful forum in bringing together diplomats from Northeast Asia to consider the way forward to eliminate North Korea's nuclear program. While progress has been modest and incremental, the venue has provided opportunity for U.S. and other diplomats to compare notes on matters related to North Korea's nuclear program and other regional issues.

70. What do you view as the prospect for the Six Party Talks becoming a model, or perhaps the basis to establish a regular forum for multilateral discussion related to other issues of significance to the region?

If confirmed, I am committed to pursuing vigorous and creative diplomacy to tackle a wide range of issues in Asia, working with other countries through existing international institutions and established diplomatic mechanisms or, if necessary, fashioning new ones. The Six Party talks are one model of fashioning a multilateral discussion, but the particular framework will depend on the specifics of the goal we are trying to meet.

Indonesia – Peace Corps

Indonesia has made remarkable progress in its move to democracy, with Legislative and Presidential elections set for later this year. The U.S. – Indonesia partnership continues to expand with enhanced collaboration in areas of mutual interest including trade, education and military matters. The United States has a window of opportunity to contribute to Indonesia's development, thereby also supporting regional stability. Indonesian officials have repeatedly expressed to the Foreign Relations Committee and to the Executive Branch, their interest in welcoming the Peace Corps to Indonesia.

71. Do you see this as a possibility, and will you encourage the Peace Corps to establish a presence in Indonesia?

With close to 240 million people, the world's largest Muslim majority country, and the world's third largest democracy, Indonesia is the giant of Southeast Asia and a crucial and valued U.S. partner in Asia. Over the past several years – and in the face of economic and social turmoil as well as an unprecedented natural disaster in the December 2004 tsunami – Indonesia has made impressive progress on key reforms, human security, pursuing militant extremists, growing its economy, and reestablishing its role in ASEAN. Although there are of course areas where increased accountability and transparency are still needed, the Indonesian people have every reason to be proud of their accomplishments.

Indonesia plays a central role in the region, and I look forward to working with the Committee and others in Congress to explore appropriate ways to continue to develop and deepen cooperation between our two nations. If confirmed, I would encourage the Peace Corps to establish a presence in Indonesia as part of an enhanced U.S.-Indonesia partnership that promotes democracy, leads to increased transparency and accountability, encourages economic growth and development, and enhances human rights and human security.

North Korea

72. How do you assess the situation in North Korea regarding prospects for elimination of that country's nuclear program?

North Korea's nuclear ambitions are a deep concern. The Obama Administration will confirm the full extent of North Korea's past plutonium production and its uranium enrichment activities, and get answers to disturbing questions about its proliferation activities with other countries, including Syria. The North Koreans must live up to their commitments and fully and verifiably dismantle all of their nuclear weapons programs and proliferation activities. The objective must be clear: the complete and verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs, which only expanded while we refused to talk. As we move forward, we must not cede our leverage in these negotiations unless it is clear that North Korea is living up to its obligations.

73. In your view, what is the best way forward, and will you be recommending elimination of North Korea's nuclear program in its entirety, or elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons program and inventory?

The new Administration will pursue direct diplomacy bilaterally and within the Six-Party talks to achieve the complete and verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs, and an accounting for North Korea's past plutonium production, uranium enrichment activities, and proliferation activities.

Sanctions should only be lifted based on North Korean performance. If the North Koreans do not meet their obligations, we should move quickly to re-impose sanctions that have been waived, and consider new restrictions going forward.

74. Under what circumstances would you envision normalized relations between North Korea and the United States?

Normalized relations will not be possible without the complete and verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs, and

an accounting for North Korea's past plutonium production, uranium enrichment activities, and proliferation activities. We must also continue to address North Korea's human rights abuses, which must be part of any normalization process.

75. Should the United States encourage continuation of the Six Party Talks, and under what conditions, if any, are you open to direct bilateral discussions between the United States and North Korea?

The Six-Party framework has provided flexibility through which to pursue multilateral and bilateral approaches. We have the most leverage when presenting united positions supported by China, Japan, the Republic of Korea (ROK), and Russia. At the same time, the United States will continue to engage the DPRK bilaterally within the Six-Party framework.

76. How will addressing North Korean human rights issues be configured in the Administration's overall North Korea strategy?

We remain concerned about improving the lives of the North Korean people, including the lives of refugees. The United States is now the largest provider of food aid to the DPRK through the World Food Program and U.S. NGOs under a May 2008 agreement. An Obama Administration will continue to address North Korea's human rights abuses, including as part of any normalization process.

77. The North Korea – Burma relationship continues to grow. In addition to normalizing diplomatic relations, North Korea is among those countries exporting conventional weapons to Burma. As North Korean planes and ships continue to arrive in Burma, there are questions about possible collaboration between those two countries toward the development of Burma's nuclear program. North Korean officials have neither confirmed nor denied multiple Committee inquiries as to whether their country is providing nuclear materials and technology to Burma for weaponization purposes. What will be your recommendation to the President in the event information is received confirming North Korean collaboration with Burma to develop nuclear weapons?

The military regime in Burma is one of the most repressive regimes in the world, and is at the epicenter of a range of transnational threats,

from narcotics to avian flu. Any information suggesting that North Korea is collaborating with Burma on a nuclear program would be very troubling and treated with the seriousness it demands.

China

Vital Interests of China and the United States

In the November/December 2007 issue of “Foreign Affairs”, you wrote, “We must persuade China to join global institutions and support international rules by building on areas where our interests converge and working to narrow our differences. Although the United States must stand ready to challenge China when its conduct is at odds with U.S. vital interests, we should work for a cooperative future.”

78. In what ways today is China’s conduct at odds with our vital interests, and how specifically would you propose to “challenge China?”

The Obama Administration will seek to expand areas of cooperation with China, while also managing our differences and strengthening our ability to compete in the 21st century. We need to engage China on common interests like climate change, North Korea, and Iran, even as we continue to encourage its shift to a more open and market-based society. But to protect our interests and strengthen our economy, and to enforce the principles of our international trading system, this administration will seek a level playing field and stand firm on piracy of American intellectual property and illegal tariffs against U.S. firms. We have ceded too much leverage to China because of our debt and our singular focus on Iraq.

Strategic Economic Dialogue with China

During the last year, China and the U.S. held numerous formal and informal meetings, including sessions under the auspices of the U.S. – China Strategic Economic Dialogue (SED) and the U.S. – China Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson was the leading Administration interlocutor with China, as he represented the United States in SED sessions.

79. What is your perspective on the Strategic Economic Dialogue? Has it been a constructive forum with which to convey U.S. interests and engage with the Chinese?

It is important to have high level discussions to discuss economic issues with the Chinese government. We are looking carefully at the question of how to develop this important engagement with China. We expect high-level engagement to continue in some form.

80. Will you be recommending continuation of the SED, and if so, whom should serve as the U.S. point person, the Secretary of the Treasury, yourself if confirmed by the Senate, or perhaps someone else?

As explained above, if confirmed, I look forward to working with the President-Elect and my colleagues at Treasury, Defense, and throughout the government to structure our diplomatic and political engagement with China.

China-Energy

In its 2008 report to Congress, the U.S. – China Economic and Security Review Commission observed that China’s economy, energy use and environment “are inextricably linked” and that the linkages are not unique to China. “China and the United States face similar challenges in devising energy policy, securing sufficient energy supplies to support the national economy and the desired standard of living, and addressing such related issues as climate change.” You also have repeatedly pointed to the importance of cooperation on energy and environmental issues with China.

81. What is your perspective on the current “U.S. – China Ten Year Energy and Environment Cooperation Framework?”

The “U.S.-China Ten Year Energy and Environment Cooperation Framework” demonstrates the shared recognition of the energy and environmental challenges facing the United States and China. The Framework is aimed at developing new ideas for energy security, economic sustainability, and environmental sustainability. It works to identify, develop, and implement energy and environmental innovations for the future. If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to work on these critical issues as part of this Framework as well as other diplomatic means that we might establish.

82. What role should the State Department have in energy cooperation with the government of China? Given the rapidity with which China’s energy

consumption is expanding, how can U.S. efforts to promote clean energy and improved efficiency be expanded and pursued with more urgency?

Our economic policy towards China has to be closely coordinated with our foreign policy. They cannot be pursued in isolation to one another. We will press China to live up to its commitments in trade agreements and to meet its international responsibilities. We must vigorously defend U.S. trade interests with China by ensuring we operate on a level playing field.

Energy security and climate change is one of the most pressing challenges facing the United States and the global community. The United States will take a leadership role in combating the threat of global climate change from the beginning of the new Administration. The President-Elect has specifically pledged to set a goal of an 80 percent reduction in global emissions by 2050 – a policy goal I am committed to as well. In pursuit of that goal, we will ask the biggest carbon emitting nations to join a new Global Energy Forum to lay the foundation for the next generation of climate protocols.

It is also our shared belief that trade in low carbon energy technologies is a win-win for the United States: providing growth in innovative industries in the United States while helping our friends in Asia meet their growing energy needs in a manner consistent with our shared climate goals. Ensuring that the United States will be a technology leader in this innovative field is a priority of the Obama Administration.

83. Given your concern for volatility and vulnerability of global oil supplies, what actions would you recommend to work with China in reducing growth of its dependence on oil?

We need to work with China on agreeing to a global carbon cap. We also need to work closely with China and other countries on the development on low carbon energy technologies to reduce our shared reliance on carbon intensive energy.

China and Currency

84. In your opinion, is Chinese currency now being fairly valued against the U.S. dollar, and if not, what measures do you favor or oppose to bring the yuan into proper alignment?

It is critical that China plays by the rules and acts as a positive force for balanced world growth. President-Elect Obama has indicated his strong concerns with China's behavior on its currency. I will work with the other members of the economic team to forge an integrated strategy on how best to achieve our goals in our bilateral relationship with China in the current economic environment.

85. During the Presidential campaign, both you and Senator Obama supported legislation that would punish China for currency manipulation. Would the Obama Administration favor similar legislation today?

As described above, President-Elect Obama has indicated his strong concerns with China's behavior on its currency. The incoming Administration looks forward to working with Congress regarding the best strategy for addressing this behavior.

Russia

86. After ten years of sharp disputes over Kosovo, NATO enlargement, democracy, missile defense, and now Georgia, our political relationship with Russia is in difficulty. How do you intend to reverse the downward spiral that threatens vital security and foreign policy interests, including reducing nuclear stockpiles, preventing WMD proliferation, and fighting terrorism?

President-Elect Obama seeks a future of cooperative engagement with the Russian government on matters of strategic importance, while standing up strongly for American values and international norms. That is my view as well. Some of Russia's recent actions have been reprehensible and they have disrupted its relations with the West. As we confront those actions, we must not shy away from pushing for more democracy, transparency, and accountability. Still, there can be no return to the Cold War. Russia is not the old Soviet Union, and this is not the 20th century. The new Administration will work with Russia on areas of common strategic interest like counter-terrorism and counter-proliferation, while pressuring Russia when it interferes with its neighbors and abuses power at home – for example on Georgia, where the President-Elect condemned Russia's escalation of the conflict and clear invasion of Georgia's territory and illegal recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia as independent states. Real pressure on Russia will not come from rhetoric alone – it will come from a unified transatlantic alliance, and forging that unity will be one of my top priorities. If Russia refuses to abide by international norms, its standing in the international community will diminish.

87. Last year the Administration submitted a Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, or 123 Agreement, between the United States and Russia to the Senate for approval. After the Russian invasion of Georgia President Bush asked the Senate to suspend its consideration. Will President-Elect Obama ask the Senate to approve the US-Russia Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreement?

If I am confirmed, the President-Elect and I will seek to cooperate with Russia on issues that are in our mutual interest – including in our efforts to halt and reverse nuclear proliferation. The 123 Agreement can be an asset to those efforts. But the Agreement's passage cannot be decided in isolation from the larger question of our relationship with

Russia. If confirmed, I will look forward to working with the Committee on charting the best way forward.

NATO

88. Early in 2009, NATO will hold a summit of the Heads of State of each of the member governments. What will the U.S. position be on extending Membership Action Plans to Georgia and Ukraine?

While there are different views among allies on the best way to promote eventual NATO membership for Georgia and Ukraine, it is essential that we work closely with our allies to develop a common approach on Alliance enlargement. The NATO-Ukraine Commission and the NATO-Georgia Commission (established last summer) are other avenues available for deepening relations between the Alliance and Georgia and Ukraine. NATO's door must remain open to European democracies that meet membership criteria and can contribute to our common security. How and when new countries might join must be determined together with all our allies in the alliance.

89. In 2006, I delivered a speech at a conference prior to the start of the NATO Summit in Riga, Latvia. I urged leaders to identify the response to an energy cutoff as an Article V commitment and develop an action plan to respond to such attacks. I pointed out that my recommendation did not mean that I favored a military response to energy cutoffs. What steps will the Administration take to develop a strategy for the Alliance to prepare for and respond to the use of energy as a weapon or political tool against fellow members?

Russia's decision to use energy as leverage against Ukraine and other countries in Europe demonstrates the urgency of developing a more coherent transatlantic energy strategy. You have been a leader in the efforts to develop such a strategy. The question of how the Alliance guarantees security in the 21st century – not only against military threats but against a much broader array of threat, including to energy and cyber security – should be a major topic of discussion at the NATO Summit in April. The discussion of potentially updating NATO's Strategic Concept must address the question of the nonmilitary aspects of allies' security, including energy security.

Kazakhstan

90. What U.S. interests do you believe are most important in our relationship with Kazakhstan, and what do you believe the objectives of our policy toward Kazakhstan should be?

The United States has been working to develop an effective and cooperative relationship with Kazakhstan since its independence in 1991. Kazakhstan participates in the U.S.-led coalition against terrorism, shares information with the United States on mutual threats, and provides support for U.S. efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq. The United States has played an important role in building a more modern Kazakh military that can both meet Kazakhstan defense needs and help Kazakhstan fulfill its international responsibilities. Kazakhstan is also a key regional player in Central Asia and an important energy producer. The United States has an interest in helping Kazakhstan in its efforts to diversify its export routes and expand its energy trade with its neighbors.

In 2010, Kazakhstan will become the first former Soviet state to hold the chairmanship of the OSCE. To carry out that important role effectively, Kazakhstan must improve its human rights record and do more to support democratic norms. The country's leadership has pledged to implement political reforms before assuming the OSCE chairmanship and the United States should hold them to that pledge.

Western Hemisphere

General

91. The United States remains the strongest outside power in Latin America by most measures, including trade and military cooperation. Yet U.S. influence has sunk to perhaps the lowest point in decades. Does improving the U.S. role in Latin America and the Caribbean require changes of policy or does it simply require a change in the way we communicate our current policy? What specific policy changes would you make that depart from the policies enacted during the last eight years?

President-Elect Obama has made clear that after decades of pressing for top-down reform, we need an agenda in the Americas that works to advance democracy, security and opportunity from the bottom up. There are aspects of existing policy that should be retained, albeit updated to meet evolving challenges. There must, however, be more of an emphasis on helping respond to the basic desires of the people throughout the Western Hemisphere in a way that advances U.S. interests and values.

Mexico

92. Is the Merida Initiative enough to combat the threat of widespread corruption in Mexico?

The Merida Initiative is an important step in helping our partners in Mexico address rising security challenges that pose a threat to Mexico and the United States. The President-Elect suggested during the campaign that he appreciated the vision you laid out, Senator, of an expanded Merida Initiative that incorporates our friends in Central America. I look forward to working with you, members of the Committee, and other members of Congress, in determining how we can most effectively support the rule of law this important neighborhood.

93. There has been criticism in Mexico that a 2004 decision by President Bush to allow a ban on U.S. sales of semi-automatic assault weapons to lapse has led to an increase in the number of such weapons in the hands of Mexican drug gangs weapons trafficking from the United States to Mexico, and a growing level of violence that affects our societies on both sides of the

border. Please provide your views regarding measures to ensure more cooperation among border officials to stem the movement of firearms across the border, such as e-trace and Project Gunrunner. Please provide your views regarding the presence of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) in Mexico – do we need more ATF agents in US Consulates in Mexico to stem the movement of firearms across the border?

As the President-Elect has made clear, we must do our part in helping staunch southbound flows that are crucial to the drug trafficking cartels, including the flow of guns, cash and stolen vehicles from the United States to Mexico. Doing so will require cooperation across numerous federal agencies, between federal and state authorities and with Mexican counterparts. If confirmed, I look forward to ensuring that the State Department plays an important and effective role in such efforts. I also look forward to working with you, members of the Committee, and other members of Congress to determine the most effective means of achieving these goals.

94. The collapse of oil prices and the growing effect of the recession in the United States have compounded Mexico's problems. Mexico's State-owned oil giant Pemex, the provider of 37 percent of the government's income, is expected to produce less oil and generate fewer pesos for the government in 2009. U.S. manufacturers in northern Mexico, especially those connected to the auto industry, are cutting their work forces and some are even asking employees to accept pay cuts. Rising unemployment in Mexico could create instability, expand illegal immigration, and drive desperate Mexicans into participating in the drug trade. Given the importance of Mexico's "oil income," please provide your views on working with the Mexican government on a closer energy partnership.

The inter-related challenges of inequality and insecurity pose significant challenges for Mexico and countries throughout the Americas. To help address these challenges and advance our interests and values, the United States has a strong interest in supporting bottom up development in Mexico and throughout the region. President-Elect Obama's proposed Energy Partnership for the Americas, in which we hope Mexico would play an important role, could serve as a vehicle for working together to forge a path toward sustainable growth and clean energy. I look forward to working with you, members of the

Committee, and other members of Congress as we flesh out how best to proceed in this and other areas of the bilateral U.S.-Mexico relationship.

Brazil

95. The Committee passed the “Western Hemisphere Energy Compact” in September 2008 and will be re-introducing this legislation during the next Congress. Building on the memorandum of understanding (MOU) on biofuels signed in March 2006, this bill would create the framework for greater cooperation between Brazil and the United States in the sharing, research, and development of renewable energy technologies. Please provide your views regarding the MOU and if you will be continuing this initiative. Please provide your views regarding the “Western Hemisphere Energy Compact.”

The March 2007 Memorandum of Understanding to Advance Biofuels Cooperation and the work that has been done since then are an important feature of the U.S.-Brazil relationship. We look forward to ensuring that continued U.S.-Brazil energy cooperation is carried out in an environmentally sustainable manner and in a manner that spreads the benefits of alternative energy development throughout the region while expanding the market for U.S. green energy manufacturers and producers. It is also important that U.S. biofuel producers not be prejudiced by efforts to increase U.S.-Brazil cooperation. We must also ensure that all stakeholders, including those from the labor, environmental and business sectors, are adequately represented in the biofuels cooperation process.

I look forward to examining the specifics of the “Western Hemisphere Energy Compact” legislation in the coming weeks and months and working with you and other members of the Committee to ensure that we work together to advance U.S. interests and value in the Americas through enhanced energy cooperation.

96. Please provide your views regarding the viability of devising MOUs with Brazil on food security and HIV prevention throughout Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa.

The current U.S.-Brazil relationship provides a foundation for a deeper, more comprehensive relationship between our two countries. There are

a wide range of issues on which we hope to work closely with our Brazilian partners to help advance democratic governance, opportunity and security from the bottom up throughout the Americas. I look forward to your counsel, as well as that from other members of this Committee and Congress, as a whole, regarding particular areas of potential focus as we endeavor to deepen the bilateral relationship.

97. President Lula has advocated the goal of opening Brazil's economy through trade liberalization. Lowering barriers to international trade is an important way to raise productivity growth. The benefits from greater trade include improved access to needed capital imports and technology to raise productivity and improve living standards. Please assess the feasibility of negotiating a Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) between the United States Government (USG) and the Government of Brazil (GOB). Please provide your views regarding the viability of negotiating a Tax Treaty with Brazil.

As noted in response to Question 96, we believe there are a wide range of issues on which we hope to work closely with our Brazilian partners to deepen the bilateral relationship. I look forward to your counsel, as well as that from other members of this Committee and Congress, as a whole, regarding particular areas of potential focus in that endeavor.

Colombia

98. Please provide your views regarding President Alvaro Uribe's desire to continue in power for a third consecutive term.

As you are aware, the Colombian Congress is in the process of addressing the question of re-election. I do not believe it is proper for the United States to attempt to dictate the result of any internal democratic process in the region.

99. Despite the best effort and funding from the US, cocaine production continues unabated in Colombia. Please provide your views on the success or failure of Plan Colombia, on funding for alternative development efforts in Colombia, and on military assistance for Plan Colombia.

The security situation in Colombia has improved, but very significant quantities of illicit narcotics continue to flow in significant quantities from Colombia to the United States. I look forward to working with

Congress and our friends and partners in Colombia to ensure that future investments help staunch the flow of illegal drugs and help consolidate security gains to contribute to a durable peace in Colombia. To do so, we must learn from the successes and failures of the past. Continued support for Colombia through the Andean Counterdrug Initiative is important. That assistance must be updated to meet evolving challenges. We must provide meaningful support for Colombia's democratic, civilian institutions and the rule of law.

As we continue our struggle against the scourge of illegal drugs in our society and throughout the Americas, we must ensure that we are doing what is necessary here at home to reduce demand, enforce our laws through effective policing, and disrupt the southbound flow of money and weapons that are an essential element of the transnational illicit networks that operate in Colombia and elsewhere in the Americas. It is important that we work together with countries throughout the region to find the best practices that work across the hemisphere and to tailor approaches to fit each country.

100. Please provide your views on the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Colombia. Will you oppose the FTA in its current form? What changes need to be included in the current agreement to gain the administration's support?

It is important that we not lose sight of the many aspects of the important, dynamic and complex bilateral relationship that the United States and Colombia have when we discuss the U.S.-Colombia Trade Promotion Agreement. I look forward to working to maintain the across-the-board vibrancy of the relationship.

With regard to the trade agreement, it is essential that trade spread the benefits of globalization. Without adequate labor protections, trade cannot do that. Although levels of violence have dropped, continued violence and impunity in Colombia directed at labor and other civic leaders makes labor protections impossible to guarantee in Colombia today.

Colombia must improve its efforts. I look forward to working with members of this Committee, as well as other members of the Senate and House of Representatives to see what the United States can do to help

contribute to an end to further violence and continued impunity directed against labor and other civic leaders in Colombia.

The United States and Colombia have long enjoyed a close, mutually-beneficial relationship. I am confident that through continued cooperation on the full array of bilateral issues, we can maintain and deepen that relationship. Active engagement with Colombia will be an important part of this administration's approach to hemispheric relations.

Cuba

101. The fiftieth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution on January 1, 2009, presents an auspicious moment to reexamine the contentious U.S.-Cuban relationship. Please provide your views on reviewing all elements of Cuba policy.

There are many ways that we can send a message to the Cuban people that the United States intends to play a positive role in their future. President-Elect Obama believes that Cuban-Americans especially can be important ambassadors for change in Cuba. As such, he believes that it makes both moral and strategic sense to lift the restrictions on family visits and family cash remittances to Cuba. We do not currently have a timeline for the announcement of such a new policy, and the Obama-Biden Administration will consult closely with Congress as we prepare the change.

President-Elect Obama also believes that it is not time to lift the embargo on Cuba, especially since it provides an important source of leverage for further change on the island.

102. Despite the official embargo, agricultural trade represents a significant area of interaction between the United States and Cuba. Since the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act (TSRA) of 2000 lifted sanctions on sales of agricultural commodities and medicine, the U.S. has become Cuba's most important food provider, although many restrictions and licensing requirements remain in place. Please provide your views on expanding trade with Cuba.

We anticipate a review of U.S. policy regarding sales of agricultural commodities to Cuba and look forward to working with members of the Committee and other members of Congress as we move forward in the consideration of appropriate steps to take to help advance U.S. interests and values in the context of relations with Cuba.

103. The United States has pursued cooperation with Cuba in drug interdiction on a very limited case-by-case basis. Please provide your views on a broad formalized agreement or Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S. and Cuba in order to improve coordination of anti-drug efforts and provide for exchange of information.

Given the threat posed by narcotics trafficking, it is important to cooperate with Cuba where such cooperation is effective in stopping trafficking.

104. Cuba has been on the State Department's State Sponsors of Terrorism list since 1982. Please provide your views regarding why Cuba should or should not remain on the State Department's State Sponsors of Terrorism list.

We anticipate a review of U.S. policy regarding Cuba and look forward to working with members of the Committee and other members of Congress as we move forward in the consideration of appropriate steps to take to help advance U.S. interests and values in the context of relations with Cuba.

105. Please provide your views on U.S.-Cuban cooperation on energy security and environmentally sustainable resource management, especially as Cuba begins deep-water exploration for potentially significant oil reserves.

We anticipate a review of U.S. policy regarding Cuba and look forward to working with members of the Committee and other members of Congress as we move forward in the consideration of appropriate steps to take to help advance U.S. interests and values in the context of relations with Cuba.

Bolivia

106. Under the Bush administration benefits from the Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act (ATPDEA) were suspended for Bolivia. This is a challenging topic and relationship for the U.S., but one in which the door to a more positive engagement needs to remain open for the sake of our broader interests in the region. Please provide your views on reinstating ATPDEA benefits.

The unjustified expulsion of Ambassador Phillip Goldberg as well as other actions taken by the Bolivian government against U.S. personnel and programs raises significant questions regarding Bolivia's desire for a constructive bilateral relationship. The future of ATPDEA benefits is one of the issues in the U.S.-Bolivia relationship that merits careful consideration as we move forward, particularly given our interest in helping promote economic opportunity from the bottom up throughout the Americas. I look forward to working with you, members of the Committee and member of Congress to ensure that U.S. policy in Bolivia helps advance our interests and values.

United Nations

UN Security Council

107. Effective action by the UN Security Council to address threats to peace and security requires building support among Council members, including Russia and China. Difficulty in winning such support has hampered efforts in recent years to address a number of U.S. priorities in the Council, including stronger action to address the threat posed by Iran's nuclear program, the crises in Darfur and Zimbabwe, and human rights abuses in Burma. As Secretary, what steps would you take to increase the effectiveness of US engagement in the Security Council?

The President-Elect and I believe that it is important for the United States to lead in strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations, in modernizing it, so that it can be more capable of meeting the challenges of the 21st Century. We believe that in light of the global challenges we face in the new century, the value and potential of the UN is as great if not more so today, than at its founding 60 years ago. Clearly, cooperation at the Security Council must be at the center of our efforts to build an effective and responsive UN on the challenges you cite, from Burma to Darfur to Iran to Zimbabwe. In this regard I am struck by the findings of the 2005 congressionally mandated task force on the UN, co-chaired by Senator Mitchell and Speaker Gingrich, which said with respect to inaction to prevent mass atrocities, "On stopping genocide, all too often 'the United Nations failed' should actually read 'members of the United Nations blocked or undermined action by the United Nations.'"

That is why working intensively and aggressively to secure Security Council cooperation is critical. We must both build pragmatic working relationships, while making our priorities clear. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Dr. Rice who is also committed to the principle that the Security Council should not be an obstacle to advancing critical foreign policy goals and interests. In this regard, it is also essential that our permanent representative in New York have the full backing of American diplomacy, including the full support of the Department of State to engage capitals in order to reinforce our diplomacy in New York.

108. There have been a number of proposals to increase the size of the UN Security Council and to expand the number of permanent members of the Council.

- a. How do you believe US interests would be affected by the expansion of the Council's size or by the addition of more permanent members?

The President-Elect and I agree that the Security Council was created many years ago at a time when there were very different international realities. Our Administration will make a serious, deliberate effort, consulting with key allies and capitals, to find a way forward that enhances the ability of the Security Council to carry out its mandate and effectively meet the challenges of the new century. Obviously, this will not happen over night.

- b. What factors do you believe most important in evaluating any such proposals?

We will support reforms that would not impede the Security Council's effectiveness and its efficiency. We would also consider how to enhance the standing of the Council in the eyes of those nations that seek a greater voice in international fora.

- c. Changes in the composition of the Security Council would require an amendment to the UN Charter, which in turn would require the advice and consent of the Senate. Do you commit to consulting with the Foreign Relations Committee in advance of any future international discussions of proposals to change the composition of the Council?

If confirmed, not only would I commit to such consultations, I will actively seek out the Foreign Relations Committee's counsel and expertise on this important and challenging issue.

UN Human Rights Council

Critics contend that the new UN Human Rights Council is a marginal improvement at best over the discredited UN Human Rights Commission it replaced. The Bush Administration decided not to seek membership to the Council and in June of 2008 all but completely withdrew the United States

from observer status, declaring that we would only engage with the Council when it involves “matters of deep national interest.”

109. What is the position of the Administration regarding the UN Human Rights Council?

Unfortunately, the new Human Rights Council has strayed far from the principles of the authors of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. It has passed eight resolutions condemning Israel, a democracy with higher standards of human rights than its accusers, but it is only with difficulty that it adopted resolutions pressing Sudan and Myanmar. The United States should seek to reform the UN Human Rights Council. We need our voice to be heard loud and clear to call attention to the world’s most repressive regimes, end the despicable obsession with Israel, and improve human rights policies around the globe.

110. Will the Obama Administration seek to become a member of the Council at the next opportunity?

If confirmed, I look forward to working with the President-Elect and the UN Permanent Representative and consulting with this Committee as we review whether and when to run for election to a seat on the Council. Whether or not we seek election, we will certainly fully engage to make reform of the human rights system a priority of the United States.

111. What role does the Administration see the Council playing in the field of human rights?

American leadership on human rights is essential to making the world safer, more just, and more humane. As the President-Elect has said, leadership begins at home, and we must lead by example, by ending torture, official cruelty, and by closing Guantanamo. But we also must go much further. We should work with others to shape human rights institutions and instruments tailored to the 21st century. We must work to make the UN’s human rights institutions more effective voices for those who are subjected to human rights violations. The President-Elect has committed to champion accountability for genocide and war crimes, ending the scourge of impunity for massive human rights abuses. We will stand up for oppressed people from Cuba to North

Korea and from Burma to Zimbabwe and Sudan. We will accord greater weight to human rights, including the rights of women and children, in our relationships with global powers, recognizing that America's long-term strategic interests are more likely to be advanced when our partners are rights-respecting. We will address human trafficking, both labor and sex trafficking, through strong legislation and enforcement to ensure that trafficking victims are protected and traffickers are brought to justice.

112. Does the Administration believe the Council spends a disproportionate amount of attention criticizing Israel while ignoring more pressing human rights crises?

Yes. There is no question that the Human Rights Council has been seriously flawed. Rather than focus its efforts and energies on the most egregious instances of human rights abuses around the world, in places like Burma, Zimbabwe, Sudan, and elsewhere, it has, as I said earlier, passed eight resolutions condemning Israel, a democracy with higher standards of human rights than its accusers, but it is only with difficulty that it adopted resolutions pressing Sudan and Myanmar.

UN Peacekeeping

In the 1990s, United Nations peacekeepers often found themselves sent without adequate political or military support to complete missions that were ill-designed. The United Nations seems to have learned the painful and tragic lessons of those events and has recently avoided inserting blue-helmeted troops in such "no-win" type operations.

113. Do you believe UN peacekeepers can effectively perform stabilizing or "peace enforcement" roles in situations, such as Somalia, where there is an ongoing conflict and no peace agreement among the parties?

It is certainly the case, that the Security Council is indeed levying more requirements and mandates on UN peacekeepers than ever before. In Somalia, there are no good solutions. We have a serious counterterrorism challenge; a serious humanitarian concern and imperative; and an interest in trying to facilitate national reconciliation and long-term stability in Somalia. In this context, the question is whether a UN peacekeeping force, assuming it can be successfully

established and deployed, would advance our efforts along all three of our objectives. If confirmed, I expect to consider this issue in the near future with the President-Elect and my colleagues in the cabinet.

114. Do you believe the consent of the parties is a necessary precondition to effective peacekeeping? Do you believe there are situations where UN peacekeepers should be authorized to deploy to a country without the consent of the host government?

There are many different kinds of peacekeeping operations. The ideal circumstance is when the parties consent to the deployment of the peacekeeping mission. But there are times when the Security Council will authorize the use of force when the parties do not consent or oppose outside intervention. One thing we can no longer tolerate, however, is a circumstance such as in Sudan, when the government, in an effort to block full deployment of the African Union-UN mission, picks and chooses which troop contributions it is prepared to accept.

UN peacekeeping budget

For many years, the level of funding requested in the Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) account was significantly below known requirement levels. Deficiencies were then routinely made up via supplemental appropriations. Many in Congress view this “low-balling” as either shoddy bookkeeping or a disingenuous attempt to dodge difficult political issues.

115. Does the Obama Administration intend to request funds for the CIPA account sufficient to meet the anticipated US assessed dues for UN peacekeeping operations?

It is the intention of the President-Elect and my intention to meet our UN obligations in full and on time, and that requires us to make a determined effort to budget for peacekeeping operations as accurately as we can.

116. Are there any specific steps you believe the United Nations should take to reduce the overall size of the UN peacekeeping budget? If so, what are they?

Over the last several years, UN peacekeeping has seen its greatest growth both in numbers and scales. A large portion of the UN's budget is devoted to peacekeeping. It will be important that, as peacekeeping mandates come up for renewal, we appropriately scrutinize the objectives, mandate, and deployment of these peacekeeping forces. Any new peacekeeping mandate must also be evaluated to ensure that the UN has the capacity and resources to fulfill the added responsibility.

117. Are there any specific UN peacekeeping missions you would support reducing or terminating in order to reduce the costs of UN peacekeeping? If so, which missions do you believe should be reduced or terminated?

The Administration will review each peacekeeping operation as it comes up for renewal at the Security Council. The Administration does not have a position about reducing supporting or terminating specific peacekeeping operations at this time

Responsibility to Protect

In 2005, the United Nations World Summit endorsed the concept of a responsibility of states to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. The concept as endorsed by the United Nations provides that where states manifestly fail to protect their populations from such atrocities, the international community, acting through the UN Security Council, is prepared to take collective action in a timely and effective manner to provide such protection. The UN statement is silent on the question of intervention by individual states without authorization from the UN Security Council to protect populations in such situations.

118. Do you believe that individual states may legitimately use force to protect other states' populations from atrocities without UN Security Council authorization? Do you believe such a right is recognized in international law?

I believe we must begin by making every effort to persuade those who might be inclined to use their veto to block action to stop or prevent mass atrocities from doing so. Our preference is to obtain Security Council approval because this enhances our ability to bring others along, shares the cost of the burdens, and increases the likelihood of success. Yet there may well be current and future instances in which

despite our best efforts to obtain Security Council support we are unable to do so, as was the case with Kosovo, where the United States and its NATO allies took action initially without UN Security Council approval. That was the right thing to do at the time, and it must remain an option. As the President-Elect has said, we are diminished if we fail to act in the face of mass atrocities and genocide.

119. If you believe in such a right, what principles should govern such interventions? What impact would such a doctrine have on the general prohibition in international law against the use of force between states except in cases of self-defense? How could states be prevented from using such a doctrine as a pretext to justify uses of force undertaken for ulterior political motives?

The responsibility to protect is a norm that was supported by the United States, by the UN 2005 World Summit, and subsequently by the Security Council. The responsibility to protect is a doctrine that begins with prevention and encompasses the full range of policy options. The emphasis is on prevention, though we cannot and must not rule out the use of force if other options fail. My main concern about the responsibility to protect is not overuse, but the gap that exists between what the norm promises and the failure of the international community to live up to that norm with strong action in places like Darfur.

Some commentators have advocated that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council should forswear the use of the veto in the Council in cases where international intervention is proposed for ostensibly humanitarian reasons.

120. Do you support the United States announcing a policy that it will not use its veto in the Security Council in some category of future cases involving proposals for humanitarian intervention?

Our preference should be to obtain Security Council approval for an action because this enhances our ability to bring others along with us, shares the cost of the burdens, and increases legitimacy. This should not be a binary choice of foregoing our right as a Permanent Member of the Security Council or sacrificing a principle of a commitment to the protection of civilians. It is also unrealistic to believe that all possible future hypothetical scenarios can be identified in an evaluation of the use of the Security Council veto.

121. If so, would such a position preclude the United States from vetoing a hypothetical proposal for intervention in Gaza if some Council members asserted that such intervention was required for humanitarian reasons?

No. The United States maintains an unwavering commitment to Israel, and will oppose efforts by the Security Council and elsewhere to put forward resolutions and other statements that seek to unfairly target the State of Israel.

Some commentators have advocated more frequent recourse to the UN General Assembly to authorize interventions for humanitarian reasons in cases where the Security Council fails to authorize such interventions.

122. Do you support an expanded role for the UN General Assembly in authorizing humanitarian interventions in cases where the Security Council declines to do so?

The United States should pursue those avenues, opportunities, and strategies that represent the best possibility of achieving our national objectives. This is not about the General Assembly versus the Security Council. President-Elect Obama's overarching objective is advancing America's interests and values, protecting our security, and ensuring our prosperity.

Arms Control

123. In 2003, when Administration officials testified before this committee in support of the Moscow Treaty, they pointed out that the agreement would be buttressed by the START Treaty's verification regime. The START verification regime is due to expire in December of this year. In other words, the underpinning of the START and Moscow Treaties and our strategic relationship depends upon something which is about to expire. What is your opinion on the importance of extending the START Treaty and what steps do you plan to take to address this matter?

The Obama Administration will seek deep, verifiable reductions in all U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons – whether deployed or non-deployed, strategic or non-strategic. As a first step, we will seek a legally binding agreement to replace the current START Treaty which, as you point out, expires in December 2009.

124. I have been concerned by reports that the efficacy of the Chemical Weapons Convention is in doubt due to U.S. funding shortfalls. I understand that not all of the funding for this work comes from the State Department -- some comes from the Department of Commerce. What steps will you take to ensure that U.S. treaty commitments are met?

Uncertainty about when, or even whether, the U.S. will pay its bill has created problems each year for the OPCW in carrying out its inspection program, especially because the U.S. assessment constitutes 22 percent of OPCW's budget. Given the Obama Administration's strong support for the Chemical Weapons Convention and the OPCW, the State Department will review this issue to see whether there are practical ways to address the problem of adequate funding for international organizations.

125. In 2006, I visited the headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, Austria and its Safeguards Analytical Laboratory located a few miles away. Samples collected by IAEA inspectors during inspections are brought there to verify that there are no undeclared nuclear materials and activities. Unfortunately the laboratory's aging equipment and dangerous working conditions hamper the important work done there. This situation will likely worsen as more samples arrive there and as more states expand their nuclear power infrastructure. Such a situation could, in the future, shut

down this critical nonproliferation facility. What steps will you take to ensure that the IAEA has the resources and leadership it needs to continue its important safeguards mission?

The Obama Administration will give strong support to the IAEA, especially its safeguards system which plays the crucial role of monitoring compliance with the Nonproliferation Treaty. At the urging of the United States and many other IAEA members, the Agency's responsibilities and workload have expanded rapidly in recent years, including in implementing Additional Protocols to members' safeguards agreements, assisting members to enhance the physical protection of their nuclear installations and materials, and, hopefully in the future, helping create and administer a nuclear fuel bank that can reduce incentives for countries to acquire their own fuel-cycle facilities. Yet the IAEA's budget has not kept pace with its growing responsibilities. It needs to strengthen its talented workforce and ensure that its monitoring equipment and facilities, such as its laboratory at Seibersdorf, are fully up-to-date. That is why President-Elect Obama has called for doubling the IAEA's budget over the next four years.

126. When President-Elect Obama was in the Senate we worked together to fashion legislation to dramatically increase funding for conventional weapons dismantlement and weapons and materials of mass destruction detection and interdiction assistance. Unfortunately, these efforts did not translate into an increased financial or leadership commitment from the Department of State. What plans do you have to revitalize State Department efforts in this area?

I strongly support implementation of the Lugar-Obama legislation that was designed to strengthen U.S. efforts to assist other countries to dismantle conventional weapons as well as to detect and interdict materials and weapons of mass destruction. While some of the U.S. programs to address these problems are funded by other agencies, the State Department has responsibility for significant programs of its own, including the Small Arms/Light Weapons Destruction Fund and the Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) Program. It is my understanding that funding for conventional weapons destruction rose from \$8.6 million in FY06 to \$16 million in FY07 (when the Lugar-Obama legislation was adopted) to over \$44 million in

FY08. In FY07, \$42 million was obligated to the EXBS program, which assists the capabilities of other states to detect and interdict WMD smuggling. The Lugar-Obama legislation requires that not less than 25 percent of the funds provided in the nonproliferation chapter of the Foreign Assistance Act be devoted to enhancing the capabilities of other countries to detect and interdict WMD materials. In FY07, EXBS spending was well over that threshold. So my understanding is that the legislation has had a significant impact. The Obama Administration will review these and other assistance programs and decide what more may be needed to meet the requirements of the legislation and to support the important policy goals of conventional weapons destruction and the detection and interdiction of materials and weapons of mass destruction.

Counter-terrorism

127. In the 109th Congress you proposed legislation (S. 1705) that among other things would designate an individual in the NSC to serve as the Senior Advisor to the President for the Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism, who would direct and coordinate U.S. policies for preventing nuclear terrorism. Would you continue to advocate such a position, or do you believe that this job can be handled by the Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security and the Coordinator for Counterterrorism?

Yes, I continue to advocate such a position. The possibility of terrorists acquiring and using weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons, is the gravest national security threat we face today. The Obama Administration will therefore follow through on the President-Elect's campaign pledge to appoint a White House Coordinator to address the threat of nuclear terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Among the Coordinator's responsibilities will be to exercise budgetary oversight over all U.S. programs designed to address the WMD threat.

128. One of the keys to international counterterrorism is the cooperation among states, especially in several ungoverned tri-border regions. Do you see greater role for the Department of State in this respect? What will be your counter-terrorism philosophy?

Our ability to contain and diminish the threat of international terrorism depends heavily on our ability to build partnerships among nations and deepen cooperation across a range of areas, including law enforcement, intelligence sharing, border controls and safeguarding of hazardous materials. The United States – and the State Department in particular – has historically played a central role in this area. I strongly believe that keeping terrorists on the defensive, reducing their room for maneuver and preventing them from striking at us and our allies will require that the Department act energetically to build the international cooperation that is essential for confronting a transnational threat that no one country can successfully fight alone.

Energy

129. At a Presidential campaign debate on April 16, 2008, you stated: “We are so much more dependent on foreign oil today than we were on 9/11, and that is a real indictment of our leadership.” You have also repeatedly pointed to a concern that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has also warned of: the degree to which energy security issues – particularly dependence on foreign oil supplies – harm U.S. foreign policy and security. While growing attention has been given to the need to reform domestic energy policy to reduce oil usage, comparatively little attention has been given to the need for U.S. diplomatic engagement on energy.

- a. What priority would you assign to energy security in U.S. foreign policy? Is this an issue on which you would personally engage? How would you ensure that energy security is integrated into State Department activities?
- b. As Secretary of State, what role will you play in explaining to Americans the national security, economic and humanitarian costs of our current domestic and global energy portfolio?

The President-Elect identifies energy security as one of his top national security priorities during the campaign. I have long believed that energy security – and the twin challenge of climate change – are among the most pressing challenges facing the United States and the global community and must be among the top national security priorities. These are issues on which I will personally engage, and they will consistently receive high-level attention at the Department. I will work with our friends and partners around the world, who are facing the same challenges. I also intend to ensure that the Department works vigorously through the interagency process on these issues. I am still reviewing whether to make any organizational changes in the Department on these issues – I will certainly consult with the Committee as we work to ensure that energy security plays a prominent role in State Department activities.

If confirmed as Secretary, I will be active in making the case that the United States must free itself from dependence on foreign oil. Our addiction to foreign oil does not just undermine our national security and wreak havoc on the environment – it also cripples our economy and

strains the budgets of working families. The United States and our friends and partners throughout the world are facing a protracted period of major energy challenges. Over-dependence on individual countries or fuels creates vulnerabilities by permitting market distortions and opportunities for political blackmail. Along with the President-Elect and my colleagues, I will urge a swift and effective response that focuses on improving energy efficiency, developing energy technologies that do not contribute to global warming, and for the near-term future, securing stable and diverse supplies of conventional energy.

130. Signed into law in December 2007, the Energy Independence and Security Act required the creation of a Department of State Coordinator for International Energy Affairs. This position, originally proposed in legislation offered on March 16, 2006, originated from my judgment that the myriad threats posed by global energy concerns require devoted attention by an individual with significant stature placed within the office of the Secretary of State, and with the political experience necessary to communicate and pursue our diplomatic energy priorities to a broad audience. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously approved legislation mandating of the Coordinator position in a bill offered by myself with Senators Biden, Craig, Salazar, Landrieu, Coleman, Lieberman, Hagel and Thune.

Rather than appointing a full-time Coordinator as per Congressional expectation, the current Secretary of State chose to “dual-hat” the Under Secretary of State for Economic, Energy and Business Affairs – a position that has also required, among other issues, responsibility for leading State Department engagement on the global financial crisis. Thus, the highest ranking State Department official exclusively devoted to energy issues remains at the level of Office Director.

- a. Do you believe that energy security concerns warrant a high-level, full-time State Department official?
- b. What role will the Coordinator for International Energy Affairs play in State Department activities if you are confirmed as Secretary of State?

- c. What staff support will be made available to the Coordinator?
What budgetary support will be available for the Coordinator?
- d. Do you intend to seek additional authorities or budgetary support for the Coordinator and other energy security activities within the 150 Account?

I very much appreciate and agree with your initiative to elevate energy diplomacy as a key function in the Department of State, and do believe that energy security warrants high-level attention in the Department. Energy security must be an important and integrated element of our foreign policy. I am still reviewing whether to make any organizational changes in the Department, but of course I will implement the statutory requirement to have a Coordinator. If confirmed, I will also soon be working with OMB on the President's budget request for FY 2010, so it is premature for me to comment on issues involving budgetary support. I will be happy to consult with you further about this issue, if confirmed.

131. On March 31, 2008, a Presidential Envoy for Eurasian Energy was appointed. This position is not unlike that established under President Clinton, which was crucial in establishing energy cooperation amongst Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey. The appointment of the current envoy position, made with the encouragement of Senators Lugar and Biden, came at a time when new opportunities for United States engagement in Central Asia are possible and while Russian authorities have made a strong effort to further their control of energy supplies in the greater Caspian region.

- a. What level of U.S. engagement do you believe is helpful to promote opening of trans-Caspian energy trade and investment?

Vigorous U.S. engagement to promote opening of trans-Caspian energy trade and investment is an important priority for U.S. interests. Russia's cutoff of gas shipments to Ukraine (and by extension to much of the rest of Europe) in early 2009 (following a similar move in 2006) served as a sharp reminder of how dependent Europe is on energy imports from Russia. That energy dependence can create a degree of political dependence that we should seek to help the Europeans avoid. Just as the Clinton Administration helped promote the Baku-

Ceyhan-Tbilisi pipeline in the 1990s, the United States today should be heavily engaged in helping to promote stable and transparent energy trade in Europe – including between Russia and Ukraine – and energy diversification for Europe, a goal that requires more energy trade with producers in the Caspian region.

- b. Do you intend to appoint, or encourage the President to appoint, a full-time envoy for Eurasian energy?

The complex issue of Eurasian energy requires high-level U.S. attention and engagement. If confirmed, I will consult with the President and with our energy and national security teams to determine the best way to devote that attention. The appointment of a strong, full-time envoy is one option worth serious consideration. No matter what staffing approach is employed, it will be essential to have a focused, well-elaborated strategy.

132. The proposed Nabucco natural gas pipeline project is intended to be the final link connecting Caspian region energy resources with European consumers that could substantially contribute to diversification of Europe's natural gas imports, but it is being challenged by the Russian-backed alternatives Nordstream and South Stream. The United States has been supportive of the Nabucco project, and numerous North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Union member states have attempted to make the Nabucco pipeline a reality. Unfortunately, their efforts have been stymied by other influential European governments that have more actively pursued independent deals with Russia for gas supplies. Failure to complete the Nabucco pipeline would be significant blow to European security, and challenge unity in the trans-Atlantic community.

- a. If confirmed, what steps would you take to conclude necessary political agreements for Nabucco to be constructed?

The Nabucco pipeline could prove to be a critical element in the necessary efforts to diversify European energy supplies. Completing such an expensive, complicated, multi-national project, however, will require painstaking alignment between commercial and governmental actors. An essential element of

such a project will be the commercial fundamentals. A successful strategy to promote Nabucco or other pipelines along the Southern Corridor to European markets will require consistent, high-level political engagement, including by the United States. If confirmed, I and my team would strongly encourage our European allies to make the political agreements necessary to facilitate the construction of Nabucco or other pipeline capacity that can help Europe diversify its gas supply.

- b. The Republic of Turkey has indicated a desire to participate in the Nabucco project, but it has expressed concerns for first meeting its projected domestic energy needs. What is your perspective on steps the United States bilaterally with Turkey, and multilaterally, can take to accelerate progress on the necessary intergovernmental agreements?

The President-Elect has said that “a close relationship with a stable, democratic, Western-oriented Republic of Turkey is an important U.S. national interest.” I could not agree more. Turkey is a critical U.S. partner not only on energy issues but on a wide range of critical national security issues. Its cooperation is certainly critical to the success of gas diversification projects such as the Nabucco pipeline and the Turkey-Greece-Italy pipeline. If confirmed, I will seek to restore and develop the longstanding U.S. strategic partnership with Turkey – which has come under strain in recent years. Supporting Turkey’s effort to develop and implement sound and sustainable energy policies is in the interest of Turkey, all of Europe, and the United States because it will help Turkey to be a reliable partner and transit country for gas flowing to other European markets.

- 133. The United States Senate, as part of its amendment to H.R.6 in 2007, approved legislation I authored promoting enhanced ties between the International Energy Agency (IEA) and the governments of the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of India. One central component of such cooperation would be formal coordination of strategic petroleum reserves as those countries construct their domestic reserves. United States diplomats have encouraged such enhanced cooperation. You have

repeatedly recognized the importance of enhanced formal ties with China and India on energy, including with the IEA.

- a. What benefit and risks do you see to formal inclusion of China and India in membership in the IEA?

The IEA should be laying the groundwork now for eventual Chinese and Indian membership in order to achieve the benefits of: 1) increasing energy policy coordination with rapidly growing energy consumers like China and India; 2) maximizing the opportunity for agreeing on energy standards and principles like transparent energy markets; 3) ensuring the coordinated release of strategic petroleum reserves during a major oil market disruption; and 4) maintaining its position as the voice of the world's major energy consuming nations.

The center of energy demand growth is shifting away from the OECD countries to many of the world's developing countries. The IEA was created as an institution that represents the interest of the major energy consuming nations. If its membership does not change to reflect who those nations are today, its authority and effectiveness will erode.

- b. Would you promote more formal inclusion of China and India in the International Energy Agency, including in coordination of strategic petroleum reserve usage?

The great majority of increased global energy demand in coming years will come from emerging economies, in particular China and India. Both are also building strategic petroleum reserves. Given their growing weight in international energy markets it is in our interest to include them as members of the International Energy Agency and to coordinate closely with them on usage of strategic petroleum reserves in case of an oil supply emergency. Global energy security will benefit from the integration of their potentially large strategic reserves into the IEA system.

- c. If necessary, would you promote revisions to the IEA's underlying treaty if necessary to include China and India?

Full membership would likely require the modification of the original 1974 International Energy Program treaty agreement that created the International Energy Agency (IEA), but the range of options potentially available to integrate China and India into the IEA have not yet been explored. The IEA makes decisions by consensus among the member states, and consensus can and will be reached on how to prepare the IEA for eventual Chinese and Indian membership, even as China and India must also commit themselves to and prepare for IEA membership. The State Department will support these efforts, up to and including revision of the International Energy Program.

134. Access to reliable and affordable energy is vital to economic development, and the threat of global climate change underscores a common interest for developing countries to not build extensive infrastructure based around carbon-intensive power generation and usage. Likewise, production of renewable energy, particularly biofuels, offers a value-added product for rural areas in the developing world. In a Foreign Affairs article, you commented, “We must also help developing nations build efficient and environmentally sustainable domestic energy infrastructures. Two-thirds of the growth in energy demand over the next 25 years will come from countries with little existing infrastructure.”

- a. What role do you see for United States foreign assistance in promotion of access to energy in developing countries?

As developing countries address energy poverty, the United States should do all it can to promote the adoption of clean energy technology and best practices. The full suite of energy sources – oil, gas, coal, nuclear, and all renewables, in tandem with conservation and efficiency improvements – will be necessary to meet projected global and domestic energy demand over the next 25 years.

U.S. foreign assistance that promotes energy access in the developing world should focus on clean energy technology – which includes renewable energy, energy efficiency, as well as

clean coal technology. The United States leads in research, development and deployment of renewable energy.

- b. What budgetary changes would be needed to increase U.S. assistance in promoting energy access?

Were the United States to give priority to the elimination of energy poverty, with a focus on enabling reliable, affordable, clean energy, we would need a very substantial increase in U.S. assistance.

Most of the required investment, however, must come from the private sector. In order to mobilize that investment, major policy and regulatory reforms are needed in many countries. Neither public nor private utilities and their investors can generate the capital required to expand access to clean, sustainable energy supply, for example, when regulatory regimes prevent them from recovering their direct and indirect operating costs.

Developing countries must bear primary responsibility for moving the reform process forward. When they do, U.S. assistance can support them in two major ways. First, our technical assistance can help to establish the overall regulatory and policy environment needed to stimulate large new public and private investments. And, second, our project-based financial guarantees and other support can help to reduce the perceived risks and costs of mobilizing the much larger flows of private sector financing required.

- c. What is your perspective on how the United States can promote global development of advanced biofuels from diverse feedstocks such as specialty energy crops, agricultural waste and municipal waste?

Sustainable biofuels is an area where the State Department can continue to foster global cooperation. The United States works both multilaterally and bilaterally to advance sustainable biofuels. If confirmed, I will review this ongoing work with an eye towards expanding this focus. Examples of work which

could be expanded included the G8-launched Global Bioenergy Partnership as well as the U.S.-Brazil Memorandum of Understanding on Biofuels Cooperation, which includes both research and development work on advanced biofuels, as well as broader efforts to establish common technical standards to foster a global market for these products.

135. As a United States Senator, you cosponsored S.879 “No Oil Producing and Exporting Cartels Act of 2007” and S.2976 “OPEC Accountability Act”. What repercussions do you believe legal actions against OPEC nations would have on United States economic interests, trade and security relationships, and U.S. companies operating in affected countries? If confirmed as Secretary of State, how do you intend to balance U.S. and global market dependence on reliable supplies of oil from OPEC nations with encouraging them to undertake more open-market behavior?

Given ongoing U.S. court cases concerning these matters, as a potential Administration official I need to respect the judicial process and not comment on these matters specifically at this time.

If confirmed, I will support the President’s efforts to promote U.S. energy security. This will include maintaining a strong dialogue with the major oil producing countries – both OPEC and non-OPEC members – to impress upon them the need to ensure adequate energy supplies to meet global energy demand.

Climate Change

During the Presidential campaign, you said that you would “engage in high level meetings with leaders around the world every three months, if that’s what it takes to hammer out a new agreement” on climate change. You further indicated that “my goal will be to secure a new agreement by 2010.”

136. What role do you intend to play in the Obama Administration with respect to international negotiations on climate change? As Secretary, do you expect to meet with foreign leaders every three months to discuss climate change?

President-Elect Obama has made it clear that the United States must reassert leadership in international negotiations on climate change. If confirmed, I will play a leading role as Secretary of State in the Obama Administration’s efforts in that regard. Given the urgency of the problem and the timeframe set out in the UNFCCC process, this issue would be a key priority for me and for the Department.

137. Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change agreed on a work plan aimed at producing a new climate change agreement by the end of 2009. Do you support this goal, or do you believe more time will be necessary to reach such an agreement?

As President-Elect Obama has emphasized, few challenges facing America – and the world – are more urgent than climate change. The science is beyond dispute and the facts are clear. Sea levels are rising. Coastlines are shrinking. We have seen record drought, spreading famine, and storms that grow stronger year after year.

President-Elect Obama has made it clear that his Administration will mark a new chapter in U.S. leadership on climate change. Under President Obama, the U.S. will once again engage vigorously in the UN-sponsored climate negotiations. The U.S. will also pursue progress on climate change in sub-global, regional, and bilateral settings. The U.S. is fully prepared to agree to binding caps as part of the international climate negotiations. It is also apparent that, to solve this problem, all major emitting nations must join in the solution. Major developing nations such as China and India must not be far behind in making their

own commitments. The precise nature of commitments sought from these countries will be shaped in the course of negotiations.

We are committed to working with all nations to make the 2009 Copenhagen conference under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change a success. The world must move forward without delay to address this urgent problem.

138. Committee staff following the climate change negotiations have recommended that in addition to showing leadership in the forthcoming climate talks, the U.S. should engage China, India and Brazil in high level bilateral discussions on a number of issues including climate change and energy security. Secretary Paulson has done that with China. Do you support holding similar discussions with Brazil and India?

President-Elect Obama has stated that he plans to pursue international agreements on climate change through a number of avenues in addition to the UNFCCC process, including multi-lateral discussions that include China, Brazil and India.

Public Diplomacy

As Secretary Gates noted in 2007:

“Public relations was invented in the United States, yet we are miserable at communicating to the rest of the world what we are about as a society and a culture, about freedom and democracy, about our policies and our goals. It is just plain embarrassing that al-Qaeda is better at communicating its message on the internet than America. As one foreign diplomat asked a couple of years ago, ‘How has one man in a cave managed to out-communicate the world’s greatest communication society?’ Speed, agility, and cultural relevance are not terms that come readily to mind when discussing U.S. strategic communications.”

139. How does the Obama Administration intend to reverse this course of events? Additionally, does the Administration believe the problem rests, as Secretary Gates said, with the method of communications, or rather with the message?

The President-Elect and I believe strongly that the challenge of restoring America’s leadership in the world community hinges on improving the content of our policies; in altering the strategic approaches we employ in our dealings with the world (especially moving from unilateralism to a more balanced diplomatic and consultative strategic orientation); and thirdly, we must have effective and respected traditional and public diplomatic capabilities. We can do a better job of attracting the best and the brightest. We must do a better job of giving our talented women and men the resources they need to guarantee that our strategy and our policies can be pursued successfully. All three elements are essential – policies, strategy and instruments – and I, if confirmed by the Senate, intend to assure that each is strong, and that they all work together to be mutually re-enforcing.

140. Does the Obama Administration support the idea that there needs to be a collocation waiver for public diplomacy facilities that would enable them to remain outside of new embassy facilities where the security environment permits it?

Ensuring the security and safety of U.S. government employees overseas is very important to President-Elect Obama. So too is the imperative for our people to get outside the guarded perimeters of embassy compounds to get to know the local populations, and to be known by them. If confirmed by the Senate, I intend to work closely with the professionals in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security to review collocation issues for public diplomacy. Another alternative that I would like to review is expanding the use of bi-national commissions to create welcoming and secure spaces for public diplomacy. I would be happy to keep you abreast of these actions as we move forward.

Broadcasting

Many have criticized the Bush Administration's decision to try to reach broader audiences in the Middle East through efforts such as Radio Sawa and Al Hurra TV. Critics argue that Sawa – which relies primarily on a pop-radio format with a smattering of news – fails to deliver sufficient information to serious listeners who desire to hear unfiltered news about their country and the rest of the world. Opponents of Al Hurra – which attempts to serve as a counter to Al Jazeera – claim that it often fails to provide sufficient counter-points to radical and inaccurate claims made by participants on many of its programs.

141. Does the Obama Administration intend to continue funding Radio Sawa in its current, mostly music, format? Similarly, what changes does the Administration intend for Al Hurra?
142. Does the Obama Administration believe that the Broadcasting Board of Governors, which oversees both Al Hurra and Radio Sawa as well as Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Free Asia, is the appropriate vehicle to provide managerial and policy guidance to the disparate broadcasting entities? Does the Administration seek to alter or even replace the BBG?

Let me answer these two questions together. For the most part, the performance of America's international broadcast entities has been quite successful in telling America's story (largely the task of the VOA), and in serving as important surrogates for missing independent media in countries where a free press and independent media have been repressed, such as Afghanistan and Burma, where RFE/RL and Radio Free Asia respectively operate. Beyond the precise content of the news, our international broadcast services demonstrate an essential lesson of free societies – the requirement of an independent media for a robust democracy.

A robust and effective BBG in turn requires a strong and unambiguous fire wall between the professional journalists and editors at BBG, and others in the U.S. government whether at the White House or the State Department. I recognize this to be a fundamental requirement of effective international broadcasting.

The BBG is an independent agency but the Secretary of State holds a seat on the Board, through which the Department can express its views. State also clears editorials for the VOA broadcasts. But the most effective BBG will be one at arms length from these and other government agencies.

Now is the time to review the Arab language services – they have grown in listenership in recent years, and we should review their performance and impact to determine whether Al Hurra and Radio Sawa are achieving their full potential.

We recognize that our biggest challenge is to ensure that our messages are listened to, considered and, we hope, acted upon by people in the Middle East, and Muslim societies around the world. To do this effectively, the BBG has learned that it must rely on the best market analysis to understand the unique listening habits and attitudes of the populations we seek to inform, and these conditions differ substantially from one country to its neighbor. So we must start with the market, and then devise our message accordingly, which more and more will include new digital platforms.

International Law and Treaties

Law of the Sea

During the 110th Congress, the Foreign Relations Committee reported the Law of the Sea Convention to the full Senate with the recommendation that the Senate provide its advice and consent to ratification of the Convention. The full Senate did not consider the Convention prior to its adjournment.

143. Do you support U.S. accession to the Law of the Sea Convention? If so, what U.S. interests do you believe U.S. accession to the Convention would advance?

Yes. The President-Elect has expressed his support for the Convention, and voted in favor of it as a member of this Committee in the 110th Congress, and I strongly support it as well.

I agree with the Chief of Naval Operations, and the other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all of whom endorsed the Convention during the 110th Congress. Joining the Convention will advance the interests of the U.S. military and the United States more broadly. As the world's leading maritime power, a nation with the world's largest Navy, an extensive coastline, an expansive continental shelf, and substantial commercial shipping and marine environmental interests, the United States has as much as any nation to gain from joining the Convention.

144. Do you urge Senate action on the Convention during the 111th Congress? If so, what steps would you plan to take as Secretary to promote Senate action?

As I said above, the President-Elect and I have expressed our support for the Convention. When the Administration takes office, it will promptly initiate a review of all treaties pending in the Senate and provide the Committee with a Treaty Priority List as expeditiously as possible.

ICC

145. Does the Obama Administration support the United States becoming a party to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court?

Now that it is operational, we are learning more about how the ICC functions. Thus far, it has acted with professionalism and fairness—pursuing perpetrators of truly serious crimes, like genocide in Darfur, and atrocities in the Congo and Uganda. At the same time, we must also keep in mind that the United States has more troops deployed overseas than any nation. We need to make sure that they have maximum protection.

I will work with the President-Elect and other members of the Cabinet to consult thoroughly with our military commanders and other experts. We will examine the full record of the ICC before making any recommendations or reaching any decision on joining. If confirmed, I look forward to consulting closely with this Committee as we consider our approach. Whether we work toward joining or not, we will end hostility towards the ICC and look for opportunities to encourage effective action in the ICC in ways that promote our interests by bringing war criminals to justice.

146. Do you believe the United States should seek to assist the ICC in its investigation and prosecution of crimes under the Rome Statute? If so, what sorts of assistance do you support and what principles should govern decisions about providing such assistance?

I commend the Bush Administration for its announced willingness to cooperate with the ICC in the Darfur investigation. The President-Elect and I believe we should support the ICC's investigations, including its pursuit of perpetrators of genocide in Darfur.

Trade Agreements

147. During the presidential campaign you advocated efforts to renegotiate aspects of NAFTA, and "telling Mexico and Canada that we will opt out" of the agreement unless it is revised.

- a. Does the Obama Administration intend to seek to renegotiate NAFTA? If so, what changes in the agreement does it intend to seek?
- b. What changes to other aspects of NAFTA would you expect Mexico and Canada to seek in any such negotiations?
- c. Apart from NAFTA, will the Obama Administration seek to renegotiate other Free Trade Agreements to which the United States is currently a party? If so, please indicate any such agreements and what changes the Administration intends to seek.
- d. Given that NAFTA and other Free Trade agreements have been approved by the Congress will you commit to consult with the Congress in advance of any negotiations to change the terms of such agreements, and to submit any changes to Congress for its approval?

I cannot speak to specific aspects of the new Administration's trade policy, but I can provide my general views on the questions presented about NAFTA. President-Elect Obama and I consider Mexico and Canada among our closest allies and friends and we approach the issue from that perspective. We have consistently supported modernizing NAFTA so that it works for Americans and working people and the environment for our partners in North America. The Obama Administration will work with the governments of Canada and Mexico to achieve this objective. Improving the agreement will benefit workers and the environment in all three North American countries by ensuring that workers are not mistreated and the environment not despoiled by firms seeking a trade advantage. President-Elect Obama also believes that there is also a broader cooperative agenda that the three NAFTA countries should pursue in the economic area, including such matters as energy management, improved border infrastructure and environmental cooperation.

148. What effects would the failure of pending Free Trade Agreements with Colombia, Panama and South Korea have on relations with those nations? How would successful ratification impact relations with those nations?

If confirmed, I look forward to building even stronger bilateral relationships with Colombia, Panama and South Korea in the years to

come. If confirmed, I also look forward to working with the United States Trade Representative, the Treasury Secretary, the Secretary of Commerce, and others on the President-Elect's economic team on these issues. All of these nations have expressed a strong desire to see these FTAs ratified. We will communicate forthrightly with each of them, explaining that our past and present concerns with the FTAs are discrete and specific and have no bearing on the many collaborative dimensions of our alliance and friendship. We will also work to resolve these concerns to the satisfaction of all parties. Obviously, these nations would be pleased by ratification, but I believe that we have – and can continue to have – productive friendships even without FTAs in force.

149. What in your view will be the impact of the recent collapse of the World Trade Organization's Doha Development Round of trade-negotiations? As Secretary, will you support efforts to revive the Doha Round?

We still do not know the prospects for the Doha Round. They depend in part on the impacts of last-second decisions of the Bush Administration concerning the December WTO Ministerial – impacts that are still playing out globally. I know that the new Administration will assess those impacts carefully. As a general principle, the President-Elect believes that U.S. negotiators must not accept a bad deal just for the sake of an agreement. But it would certainly be disappointing if the WTO cannot make progress toward a successful Doha Round agreement that would increase American exports, support American jobs, strengthen the rules-based multilateral system, and advance development of the world's poorest countries. President-Elect Obama supports, and as Secretary I would support, a successful conclusion of Doha – one that comports with his trade priorities and objectives.

ILO

In a 2007 article in Foreign Affairs, you wrote “We can strengthen the International Labor Organization in order to enforce labor standards, just as we strengthened the World Trade Organization to enforce trade agreements.”

150. Is it the position of the Obama administration to pursue a binding mechanism under the auspices of the International Labor Organization to resolve disputes related to labor standards?

The position of the Obama Administration is to ensure that basic international labor standards are respected and enforced in the countries with which we establish our closest commercial relationships. We need to construct a process for evaluating and bringing to dispute resolution cases where producers abroad are violating these basic worker protections in order to gain an unfair advantage in trade. There is an interagency process at USTR that can access the resources and partnership of the Department of Labor and the State Department to initiate a new level of attention to labor issues in trade agreements and to enforcement of the agreements we have signed. And we will work closely with the ILO on the best mechanism for resolving disputes. There are numerous questions by labor experts about the adequacy of the current inter-agency process. We intend to have close cooperation of USTR, State, and Labor to assess and respond to these questions.

151. Will you commit to consult with the Foreign Relations Committee about the details of any proposal for such a mechanism before engaging in discussions of such a proposal internationally?

Yes.

Medellin

On February 28, 2005, President Bush determined that the United States would comply with the judgment of the International Court of Justice in the *Case Concerning Avena and Other Mexican Nationals* (Mexico v. United States). To achieve such compliance President Bush issued a memorandum directing state courts to review and reconsider the convictions and sentences of the Mexican nationals at issue in the case, who were not advised in a timely fashion of their rights under the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations to have Mexican consular officials notified of their arrests in the United States on state criminal charges. In March, 2008 the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Medellin v. Texas* that President Bush lacked the authority to compel the states to take such actions.

152. What further actions, if any, do you believe the federal and/or state governments should take to give effect to the ICJ's *Avena* judgment? As Secretary, what steps would you plan to take with respect to this issue?

All nine justices on the Supreme Court recognized in the *Medellin* case that the United States had an international legal obligation under the *Avena* judgment. The question is how to achieve that. I understand that the Governor of Texas has indicated in a letter to Secretary Rice and Attorney General Mukasey that he would be willing to support review and reconsideration in the cases of those Mexican nationals affected by the *Avena* decision if the sentence and conviction has not already been reviewed. We will work with the State of Texas, and the other states involved, on a way forward in these cases that gives effect to the *Avena* judgment. I would also support an interagency review of how the United States can best give effect to the *Avena* judgment.

153. How would you plan to address Mexican concerns in the event that death sentences are carried out for any individuals at issue in the *Avena* case whose convictions and sentences had not been reviewed and reconsidered?

The United States has an obligation under the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations to provide consular notification whenever a foreign national is arrested in the United States. Foreign governments likewise have a reciprocal obligation to provide notification to U.S. citizens detained overseas. We must comply with our obligations if we expect other countries to comply with theirs. We will redouble our efforts to work with state and local law enforcement to ensure that the United States fully implements the Vienna Convention's consular notification provisions.

Global Health and Related Matters

154. Worldwide, it is estimated that 132 million children are orphaned due to AIDS and other causes and millions more are highly vulnerable. Without protection and support, these children are susceptible to HIV and other diseases, recruitment by militias and violent extremist groups, sex trafficking, and other abuses. The Assistance for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children in Developing Countries Act of 2005 (P.L. 109-95), required our government to devise a single, comprehensive strategy for addressing critical needs among the developing world's highly vulnerable children. Even though the bill was signed into law over three years ago, up to now, there has been no clear strategy of how the U.S. government should ensure programs to address the needs of orphans and vulnerable children are administered as Congress intended. Will you ensure that the plight of orphans and vulnerable children be a priority for the U.S. government and the Department of State in particular?

Addressing the plight of orphans and vulnerable children is a priority of the U.S. government. Under the USG Strategy for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children (submitted to Congress in June 2006), in 2007-2008 the USG spent almost \$6 billion on foreign assistance programs to improve the lives of children and their families.

If confirmed, I will ensure that orphans and vulnerable children continue to be a priority during the Obama Administration. Six U.S. government agencies and departments currently manage a range of programs that help children in dire need due to natural disasters, conflict, orphan hood, disease, abandonment, displacement, exploitation, abuse, or deep poverty. An interagency group is currently updating and refining the strategy to refocus our programs in light of the current global economic crisis that is making more children more vulnerable.

155. Last summer, Congress enacted the Tom Lantos and Henry J. Hyde United States Global Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Reauthorization Act of 2008. This legislation authorizes up to \$48 billion over the next five years for HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, and care programs, and includes \$5 billion for malaria and \$4 billion for tuberculosis. Given the current budget situation, should these programs be fully funded at the authorized levels?

Congress sent a clear message to our partners around the world that the United States would remain committed to combating these three diseases by reauthorizing our programs to address them. As you noted, the Tom Lantos and Henry J. Hyde United States Global Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Reauthorization Act of 2008 authorizes up to \$48 billion to combat the three diseases. The bill was passed with strong bipartisan majorities in both houses.

Each year beginning with FY 2010, we will assess our progress toward our goals for each program and the larger budget context, and of course we will consult with Congress in formulating the President's budget request.

156. The Tom Lantos and Henry J. Hyde United States Global Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Reauthorization Act of 2008, includes language directing the United States to participate in negotiations for future Advanced Market Commitments for the purchase of futures vaccines to combat HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, and other infectious diseases. The first advance market commitment (AMC) of \$1.5 billion, funded by Canada, Italy, Norway, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, was announced on February 9, 2007 and is schedule to launch later this year. This AMC will go to purchasing a vaccine for pneumococcal disease, an illness that kills around 1.6 million people – most of them children. The commitment itself has no cost unless and until a vaccine is developed. It is estimated that by 2030, a successful AMC project will prevent 5.4 million deaths. However, the United States did not participate in these negotiations and is not a part of this lifesaving initiative. Are you committed to upholding the Tom Lantos and Henry J. Hyde United States Global Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Reauthorization Act of 2008 by directing the U.S. to show leadership by participating in future Advanced Market Commitments negotiations?

It is my understanding that while the U.S. government did not provide funding for the AMC pilot for pneumococcal disease, the outgoing Administration supported the concept of the AMC pilot for pneumococcal disease. I will work closely with the Treasury Department, which the legislation tasks with leading negotiations on establishment of advanced market commitments, and other appropriate U.S. government agencies, in monitoring the results of the AMC pilot

for pneumococcal disease and discussing next steps with respect to AMCs for other infectious diseases.

157. Last Congress, I was the lead Cosponsor of Vice President-Elect Biden's legislation to address and combat international violence against women. It includes language to create a coordinator at the U.S. Department of State, with the rank of ambassador, to oversee all U.S. Government programs that pertain to combat violence against women and girls internationally, and to integrate programs that address gender-based violence already in existence. Do you support this bill, and how can the U.S. Government improve its ability to address the issue of gender-based violence?

As you know, I was a co-sponsor of the International Violence Against Women Act (IVAWA) in the last Congress. The advancement of women's concerns and issues has always been a high priority for me throughout my career. If confirmed by the Senate, that commitment will continue as I begin my work as Secretary of State. I will direct my staff to review the IVAWA and will work cooperatively with the Senate to ensure that we move quickly and diligently to end violence against women and girls around the globe.

I know that within the State Department the office that addresses violence against women (VAW) also promotes the economic and political empowerment of women and the education of girls. It advocates for the mainstreaming of gender issues into broader policy concerns, against harmful traditional practices, and it opposes the social attitudes that hinder women's full equality. These efforts, too, are a crucial part of fighting the root causes and perpetuation of VAW. I will welcome the opportunity to discuss ways to improve and expand our work.

Transparency in Extractive Industries and Related Issues

158. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff report entitled "The Petroleum and Poverty Paradox: Assessing U.S. and International Community Efforts to Fight the Resource Curse" recommended that "the Secretary of State should exercise more effort on transparency issues, and build on international momentum for extractive industry transparency at the United Nations, at the EITI (Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative) secretariat and through our embassies".

- a. Do you agree with this statement? If so, what steps do you expect to take to support extractive industry transparency?

I support a lead role for the State Department in advancing resource transparency at the United Nations, and through our leadership role in the EITI process. Our embassies continue to play an active part in promoting resource transparency and good governance in their host countries.

- b. Do you agree with those who say that one of the most effective ways for the U.S. to show its commitment to extractive industries transparency, and to encourage more transparency by developing countries, would be for the United States to sign on as an EITI implementing country and submit its oil and gas revenues to independent audit? If so, would you commit to taking this step early in the administration?

Domestic agencies, including many at the state and local levels of government, would have to examine this issue before the U.S. government could make such a commitment. U.S. markets and systems for reporting revenues from resource extraction are already among the most transparent in the world. Oil and gas and minerals revenues from domestic production are subject to oversight by national, state, and local levels of government as well as the scrutiny of financial markets and our free media.

159. How can the Administration better engage with China, India and other emerging markets on issues around extractive industry transparency?

The U.S. government has been engaging with China, India, and a number of other governments on the benefits of supporting the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). Increased transparency will lead to more reliable suppliers of energy and other raw materials. As the countries with the fastest-growing energy consumption, China and India have an interest in expanding global energy supplies and raw materials access from stable countries. If confirmed I will direct State Department staff to continue to engage with China, India, and other emerging economies on EITI bilaterally and multilaterally, including through the United Nations.

160. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee report, "The Petroleum and Poverty Paradox: Assessing U.S. and International Community Efforts to Fight the Resource Curse", asserts that "U.S. bilateral assistance in extractive countries should be focused on good governance, transparency and building civil society". How do you think U.S. bilateral assistance, through USAID, OPIC, MCC, the U.S. Export Import Bank, and other agencies, should be prioritized in extractive countries?

In economies dominated by extractive industries, good governance, transparency, and building civil society are critical to providing an environment conducive to sustained poverty reduction and democratic development. The United States and other donors should and do support those efforts with a range of assistance programs, including rule of law and governance reforms, public sector capacity building, and strengthening of independent media and civil society checks and balances. For these efforts to be successful, the countries themselves must bear primary responsibility for leading this process.

U.S. assistance programs rarely provide direct support to the development of extractive industries. When they do, it is important that we promote and support transparency and accountability in the public sector oversight, revenue collection, and other critical areas of good governance. I am committed to working with my colleagues at OPIC, MCC, the U.S. Export Import Bank, and other relevant agencies to ensure that the United States provides consistent, constructive policy leadership on this issue.

161. During the Presidential campaign, you expressed the view that sovereign wealth funds need to be more transparent and that “we need to have a lot more control over what they do and how they do it.”

- c. Will the Obama Administration seek to expand transparency of sovereign wealth funds?

The IMF, in conjunction with the OECD, and other relevant international bodies has articulated the Santiago Principles, which lay out the current thinking on the standards of best practice with regards to sovereign wealth funds. Increasing transparency is a central aim of the Principles. Accordingly, we will seek to increase transparency of sovereign wealth funds.

- d. What role do you expect to have as Secretary with respect to sovereign wealth funds and what steps do you intend to take in this area?

As Secretary, I will work with the President-Elect and the economic team to ensure that U.S. workers reap the benefits of foreign investment while making sure that the investment goals of these funds are transparent and in the broader national interest.

International Financial Institutions

162. The United States provides foreign assistance directly through bilateral agencies and programs as well as multilaterally through the development banks and international organizations. How would you describe oversight of U.S. bilateral and multilateral development funds? Are there steps that should be taken to better monitor U.S. development financing thereby ensuring that our money reaches the intended recipients?

It is critically important that we put in place a mechanism for transparency and accountability for bilateral and multilateral development funds.

163. The United States has committed to promoting transparency at the G-8 and other international venues. What part of the administration should have the lead on promoting transparency? What should be the role of the State Department?

President-Elect Obama has put a high priority on promoting transparency in government more broadly. I look forward to working with the President-Elect and the Treasury Department to promote greater transparency at the G-8 and now G-20 as well.

164. The United States has participated in multilateral debt relief for the poorest countries so that they can spend their money on poverty reduction and development rather than debt repayment to the international community. Reportedly, some of these countries are now taking loans from emerging creditors such as China. How should the United States respond?

It would clearly undermine the intended purpose of our multilateral debt relief if the beneficiary countries were to be incurring greater indebtedness from emerging bilateral donors such as China.

I will make it a priority to work with China and other emerging bilateral donors to support the same set of donor practices and principles that have been agreed among the traditional bilateral donors in recent years including on policies intended to reduce indebtedness.

Hunger and Food Security

165. Precipitous food price increases that occurred in 2007 and 2008 created havoc in many parts of the world, causing riots, often violent, in some 19 countries, and plunging approximately 75 million more people into poverty and increased vulnerability to malnourishment. It is estimated that nearly 1 billion people are presently food insecure. The United States is uniquely situated to help the world feed itself, and has the opportunity to recast its image by making the eradication of hunger one of the most prominent centerpieces of U.S. foreign policy.

- a. Do you agree that hunger should be a more prominent focus of U.S. global engagement?

Yes. Alleviating hunger is a particular interest of mine and if confirmed, I intend to make it a more prominent focus of U.S. global engagement.

- b. As Secretary, how would you address food insecurity?

Over many years, we have tended to react to food crises in an ad hoc fashion, waiting for obviously deteriorating situations to turn to crises before reacting. Such delayed reactions are necessarily more costly in human and monetary terms. I intend to make food security a priority in our development programs so that we can invest up front in food production, affordability, security, education and technology.

166. It is predicted that the world's population will grow to such an extent that by 2050, current food demand will double. If we are to avoid further deforestation by increasing land under cultivation, the world will need to rely on technological advances including biotechnology and genetically modified seed. Yet many countries, including those that are chronically food insecure, resist turning to this technology, largely due to European sentiment. What can the United States do to promote agricultural technology in general, and the benefits to be gained from biotechnological advances and food products derived from biotechnology?

Agricultural biotechnology is a proven but underused tool available to increase crop yields, reduce pressure for agricultural land conservation, and help ensure that people have adequate supplies of nutritious food.

The United States can help developing countries build the capacity to grow more food domestically, and assess and manage potential risks posed by biotech crops to increase confidence that such technology may be employed in a manner that preserves the health of their people and the diversity of their environment. I also believe that imposition of a global carbon cap when Kyoto expires in 2012 will help incentivize sound agricultural processes and reforestation.

If confirmed, I will examine the issues surrounding these issues and consult with other agencies including the Department of Agriculture over the best way to proceed.

167. During the 110th Congress, I introduced the S. 3529, the Global Food Security Act, to strengthen and bring greater focus to a range of United States programs designed to promote global food security through long term investments in agriculture, higher education, and technology. Do you support the objectives and approach of this legislation?

I support the objective of strengthening and bringer greater focus to U.S. programs designed to promote global food security. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress to develop legislation that will achieve these goals.